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Brezhnev not quite the honest broker

…sche Zeitung

…Brezhnev's interview in *Der* …piegel, the Hamburg news week… …not the revelation it was made …

…s certainly not a full and frank …nt by Moscow of the balance of …st military power.

…easonable to assume of the Sovi… …n that it has more and knows …specially about its adversaries, …s prepared to admit.

… Mr Brezhnev's stocktaking is …d with the 99 pages by US …Secretary Weinberger on Soviet …alone, it will be realised that …erpowers conceal more than …

…Brezhnev's comments to *Der* …and the news gathered by a …d West German journalists in … are not as short on news con… …might seem the case.

…information policy makes it …to draw inferences as to plans for …ler at least, November being a …full of important dates and …s from the Soviet point of view.

…ezhnev's *Spiegel* interview was …d by celebrations to mark the …niversary of the October revolu… …n in mid-November by a meet… …he CPSU central committee.

…genda included Mr Brezhnev's …nd foreign affairs report and the …onomic plan. Then the Supreme …was to review the economic and …l situation.

…promised to be anything but a …story given another poor harvest …e need to buy more foodgrain …e West.

…Brezhnev was hoping to achieve … political success on his visit to …while a few days later the Geneva …with the United States on limita… …f medium-range missiles in Eu… …are due to begin.

…en deadlines the Soviet media …d time to celebrate the fortieth …sary of the defence of Moscow. …he Germans and the Americans …e urged to learn useful lessons …his facet of history.

…ember will thus be a Russian …, and the Kremlin has launched it …three remarkable points on which …viet position is clarified:

● Moscow regards its SS-20 missiles …s equivalent to America's forward… …d systems and to similar weapons …ned by Britain and France.

…e zero option is thus felt to be a …out of existing Eurostrategic capa… …nd not an exchange in which the …t Union scraps SS-20s in return for …st's decision not to deploy Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles as part of a Nato missile modernisation.

● The Soviet Union rules out the possibility of a limited nuclear war. It thus debases the peace movement's argument that a regional nuclear engagement is a realistic idea because the United States envisages the possibility in Europe.

● Mr Brezhnev has reiterated a point he made at the 26th CPSU congress and acknowledged the balance of military power and the deterrent principle as a means of keeping the peace.

This leaves unanswered a number of questions about the Soviet military doctrine of offensively countering an act of aggression (what, in this case, constitutes an attack?).

What about the powerful counterstrikes threatened by Mr Brezhnev on the presumed locations of US mobile missile systems? These strikes only make sense when undertaken before the American missiles have been launched.

Does this mean the Soviet Union is prepared, despite protestations to the contrary, to wage preventive war?

Russia insinuates that the new medium-range American missiles to be stationed in Western Europe will be first-strike weapons aimed at Soviet ICBMs.

But Soviet intercontinental missiles, or so the Americans say, are for the most part sited beyond the range of the Pershing 2, assuming it is deployed in Europe.

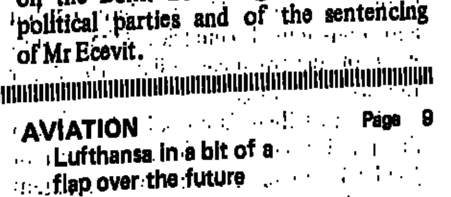
The Kremlin may fairly be worried that Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles could score a direct hit on military and political command posts and other essential facilities through the western part of the Soviet Union, including Moscow.

But the same is true of the missiles on board Soviet submarines stationed off the US coast.

The Russians will be counting missiles with the Americans, not the Germans. Views seem to differ at present in Moscow on the part Bonn played in the missile modernisation concept.

Moscow is interested less in writing history than in changing its course, however. Chancellor Schmidt may have played a part in bringing about the Ge-

Continued on page 3



The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 29 November 1981.



Talking Turkey. The Turkish head of state, General Kenan Evren, meets Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Ankara. Herr Genscher also had talks with former prime ministers Ecevit and Demirel. Ecevit has been sentenced to four months in jail for defying the regimes ban on political statements. (Photo: dpa)

Genscher sorts out Turkish delight from the dismay

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher was the first Western Foreign Minister to pay Turkey an official visit since the military take-over in September 1980.

In far from easy psychological circumstances, as Bonn put it, Herr Genscher was to show, by visiting Ankara, that Germany was confident democracy would be restored in Turkey before long.

Germany has traditionally been a friend of Turkey's, so Bonn feels entitled to voice its worries frankly and without fear or favour.

But Bonn cannot afford to go beyond the point at which pressure might be felt to be inordinate and a massive intervention from abroad.

Herr Genscher conferred with both military leaders and with former Premiers Ecevit and Demirel and found out for himself how they view the situation.

Talks with the current government dealt mainly with the timetable for a return to democracy.

Herr Genscher stressed the detrimental effect on German public opinion and on the Bonn Bundestag of the ban on political parties and of the sentencing of Mr Ecevit.

The appropriate Bundestag committee has recommended calling a halt to aid to Turkey, scheduled next year to total DM460m.

Will Bonn act on this recommendation? It will depend to a large extent on the impressions Herr Genscher gained in Turkey and on the pledges given by the generals.

His aim while in Ankara was to resume a cordial dialogue and to set aside psychological barriers. But he sought strenuously to avoid creating the impression of intervening in any way or of claiming to know all the answers.

Bonn was encouraged to see a civilian, Professor Irmak, appointed president of the constitutional assembly.

Yet the members of this body have all been appointed, not elected, either by the military authorities or by provincial administrations.

Bonn also notes that Turkey has made a little economic headway and that security in the country has been stabilised.

SPD leader Willy Brandt announced the day before Herr Genscher flew to Ankara that the sentence imposed on Social Democrat Bülent Ecevit stood in clear contradiction of repeated public promises of a return to democracy by the military.

The SPD emphasised its expectation that the military leaders would abide by their pledges and that the sentence, four months in goal, would be reviewed.

Dieter von König

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 November 1981)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Rerun of Soviet Whiskey submarine affair in Germany unlikely

How serious is the likelihood of a Soviet nuclear sub being stranded in Kiel Bay? Do Warsaw Pact spy ships already patrol the environs of German naval bases unobserved, as they do the coastlines of Norway and Sweden?

Worries are felt at the Defence Ministry in Bonn to be unwarranted. "There has yet to be an incident off the German coast even remotely comparable," said a spokesman for the Bundesmarine, referring the Soviet sub that was grounded near the Swedish naval base at Karlskrona.

For one, nearly all Germany's three-mile territorial waters in the North Sea and the Baltic are shallows, far too shallow for a submarine to dive and escape detection.

Besides, access to the three major Baltic bases, Kiel, Flensburg and Olpenitz, is via narrow bays with busy shipping lanes.

This is the second reason why it would appear virtually impossible for an enemy vessel to sneak up on the naval bases unobserved either at sea-level or under water.

Warsaw Pact navies still keep a watchful eye on Nato naval movements though. Outside territorial waters East Bloc spy ships regularly lie at anchor near the Danish ports, German ports and the Baltic approaches.

Nato returns the compliment and has a fairly accurate idea of Warsaw Pact naval strength in the Baltic, where the Soviet fleet is the largest of the four fleets maintained by the Red Navy.

The other three are the Arctic Ocean, the Pacific and the Black Sea fleets. In comparison the Polish and GDR navies are virtually insignificant.

In the Baltic the Red Fleet has roughly 300 surface warships and submarines and about half as many minesweepers. It also has more than 50 landing craft, including the latest hovercraft used in manoeuvres off Poland this summer.

This enormous armada for such a small sea includes six submarines equipped with medium-range nuclear missiles and two subs fitted out with Cruise missiles.

Conventional power still dominates

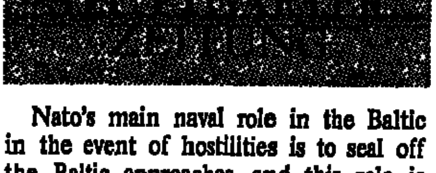
Fifty-two of the 70-odd Soviet submarines in the Baltic, almost all of which are conventionally powered, are Whiskey class subs, to use the Nato term.

One of the submarines in this category, built in the 50s, ran aground off Sweden.

Most of the surface vessels are also older.

The only really modern Soviet fighting ships in the Baltic are the two Cara and Cresta class missile cruisers and the 11 new Nanouchka corvettes with SSN-9 missiles capables of travelling 120km, or 75 miles.

According to Nato intelligence reports only a third to a half of the Red Fleet vessels are operational at any one time.

Nato's main naval role in the Baltic in the event of hostilities is to seal off the Baltic approaches, and this role is felt to be feasible.

This is mainly because Nato fleets have outstripped th e Warsaw Pact technologically. For years the East Bloc, which was the first to introduce missiles on board its Baltic ships, held the upper hand, but Nato has regained the lead.

The Danish and German Baltic fleets are said to be outnumbered four-to-one or even 10-to-one by their Warsaw Pact counterparts.

But pundits reckon the mainly up-to-the-minute Bundesmarine and Danish naval craft would be in the advantage were an attack launched on the Baltic approaches.

There are the Bundesmarine's 40 motor torpedo boats with the range and accuracy of their missiles and the 122 class frigates now under construction.

There are the new Niels Juel class Danish frigates too. Naval experts feel they ought, between them, to ensure successful defence of the approaches.

Nato's second naval role in the Baltic is to strike at the major Warsaw Pact bases and the East Bloc's Baltic fleets in the eastern sector of the sea.

This role is mainly assigned to the 24 German submarines. They too are more advanced technologically than their Warsaw Pact counterparts.

Locating submarines in the Baltic is extremely difficult as it is, water strata being what they are. The new German subs are almost impossible to spot.

They are made of non-magnetic material and are extremely fast for conventionally-powered submarines, enabling them to play cat and mouse with Warsaw Pact submarine chasers.

Warsaw Pact fleet air arms outnumber their Nato counterparts, but not as heavily as the East Bloc fleets do in terms of warships in the Baltic.

The Red Fleet air arm in the Baltic consists of 143 bombers, 25 reconnaissance planes, 55 anti-submarine aircraft and 44 transport planes. Then come 52 Polish fighters, whereas the GDR navy has no aircraft of its own.

The Bundesmarine's air arm division currently has 112 Lockheed Starfighters. It will be the first Bundeswehr division to be fully converted to the new Tornado combat aircraft.

Experts reckon the division's fighting strength will be enhanced tremendously by this change-over.

So the Bundesmarine seems likely to be able to defend itself and acquit itself successfully of its duties against a numerically superior opponent.

It owes this advantage both to favourable geographical circumstances and planning appropriate to the role assigned to it.

Maybe that was why Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel months ago [...] the idea of making even more [...] cuts in naval expenditure to e[...] burden of the defence budget.

Herr Apel's intention may ha[...] more to prompt new ideas than [...] up a new naval defence concept, [...] Baltic approaches might indeed [...] expensively but no less effective[ly] [de]fended by relying on land-based [mis]siles.

Baltic approaches ab[le] to be defended

The Baltic approaches the[...] could certainly be defended well [...] way, always provided the costly [...] structure for a Maginot line of thi[s] [...] with all the drawbacks inherent [...] kind of defence, were set up.

Complex identification and o[...] tion problems would also need [...] solved so that Nato vessels we[re not] shelled by mistake.

But in forgoing maritime mobili[ty] [...] navy would no longer be able to [...] the second feature of its military [...] and that could prove much mor[e] [...]ous.

Instead of venturing far out in [the] Baltic it would have to abandon [...] almost entirely to its opponents. I[n] [view] of the landing capacity of Warsa[w Pact] navies this could prove a dangerou[s stra]tegic concept.

Siegesmund von Ilse[...]
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 Novemb[er 1981])

Back to Madrid with not too heavy a heart

Delegates from 33 European countries, Canada and the United States returned to Madrid and a further round of the second Helsinki review conference on a note of subdued optimism.

Three months ago when, after months of fruitless talks, they agreed to reconvene on 27 October there was widespread scepticism whether during the summer recess the climate of East-West ties would improve crucially enough to make a reactivation of detente possible.

Scepticism remains. Soviet troops are still stationed in Afghanistan and on the borders of Poland. In such a situation it is virtually impossible to specify and develop further the political declarations of intent at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

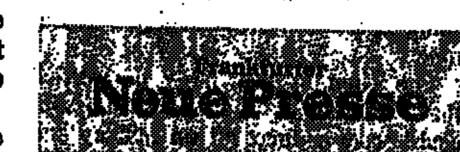
This was supposed to be the foremost aim of the Madrid review conference, but the Helsinki accords are no longer the main consideration. Madrid will stand or fall on whether or not agreement is reached on a European disarmament conference.

The Soviet Union would like to see one convened without strings and as soon as possible. The Western, neutral and non-aligned countries take a dim view of disarmament talks merely for the sake of talking.

They feel there is no point in holding them unless, beforehand, as a token of good will, there is a clear improvement in what have so far been voluntary confidence-building measures.

So far these measures have amounted to no more than notification of manoeuvres and the exchange of manoeuvre observers. The aim is to widen their scope.

A wider range of confidence-building measures ought, according to a Nato-



backed French proposal, to be binding, significant, verifiable and to extend to the Urals. This the Russians are reluctant to concede.

Western diplomats say the Soviet Union has yet to prove it is genuinely prepared to disarm; and it has not been for lack of opportunity.

The Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe, for instance, have been in progress for the past eight years.

The only outcome of the Vienna talks has been that after four years of hesitation the Soviet Union agreed to quantify East Bloc troop strength.

But Moscow forgot 150,000 men on the active list in what presumably was an attempt to prove that East and West were level-pegging in the area under review.

This is obviously not the way to set about confidence-building, which is why the Western countries are afraid Moscow has only two main aims in view in advocating a European disarmament conference.

The first is to continue the arms race unabated, the second to exert influence on Western parliaments which, while a disarmament conference is in progress, can hardly agree to substantial inc[reases] in defence spending.

There have been anti-Nato mass[ral]lies in a number of Western ca[pitals]. Comments by SPD executive com[mit]teeman Erhard Eppler and left-wing [Bri]tish Labour MPs on their return [from] Moscow will have boosted Soviet ho[pes].

Flushed with propaganda success [the] Russians should be keener to m[ake a] success of the Madrid review confer[ence].

By Christmas we should see [the] price the East is prepared to pay f[or a] disarmament conference. There [...] call for the West to scale down its [...] in any way.

Siegfried Lö[...]
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2 November [1981])

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[HO]ME AFFAIRS

CDU optimistic of a return to power

[...]Christian Democrats held their [...] congress in Hamburg with the [...] that a return to power is within [...]p.

[...]gns are there. The state of the [...] and results of opinion polls [...] be clear.

[...] the outcome of the Lower Sax[ony] [...]l government elections, where [...] did quite well.

[...] coalition parties lose *Land* elec[tions in] Hesse and Hamburg next year, [...] of their rule in Bonn would be [...].

[...] chairman Helmut Kohl told the [...] that all hopes were now pinned [...] conservatives. But this was prob[ably some]thing of an exaggeration.

[...] he said was applauded, but it [...] indicate that the whole nation is [...]ing for the CDU to come to [...].

[...] the public sees the return of [...] conservatives as an inescapable de[...] rather than a promise. It is this [...]ted an element of introspection [...] otherwise self confident con[...].

[...]y event, the very venue of the [...] biggest party congress so far is [...] provoking.

[...]s with the previous Hamburg [...] in the autumn of 1973 that the [...]gan its drive to return to power [...] change of government in 1969 [...]strous election in November [...].

[...]nce, the party has had its ups [...]s, high-flying hopes and dis[...]ments.

[Mo]re than a decade, the CDU has [...]self on the threshold of power, [...] see it escape its grasp time and [...] has conquered the city halls of [...]ntres apparently against all the [...] is now the strongest party on [...] councils.

[...] also consolidated its position as [...]minant party in the Bundesrat [...] whole federal governing organi[...] to the point where its say now [...]able.

[...] Helmut Kohl reminded the de[legates] that, only 12 years ago, nobody [would] have imagined a CDU man as [...] of Berlin — a statement that earned him much applause — he omitted to say that, by the same token, nobody could have imagined that the CDU would now still be on the opposition benches in Bonn.

This is the more disheartening for the CDU considering that everything seemed to be going its way since the mid-1970s.

The promise held out by the coalition of social reform and the mood of a new beginning that had brought the coalition to government and relegated the CDU to the opposition came to nought.

And in the wake of all this confusion the public started clamouring again for order, orientation and permanence. All this favoured the CDU, both in terms of public mood and in terms of votes.

So why did the conservatives remain unsuccessful despite the promising climate and successes at the polls?

There is one possibility which CDU and CSU have rarely considered: that the fault for their constant failure lay with themselves.

Critics in and outside the party zeroed in on Kohl. But much of the blame levelled at was actually directed at the party itself.

Kohl could not have remained at the head of the party for so long were he not made of the same stuff the party is made of — with the same strengths and weaknesses.

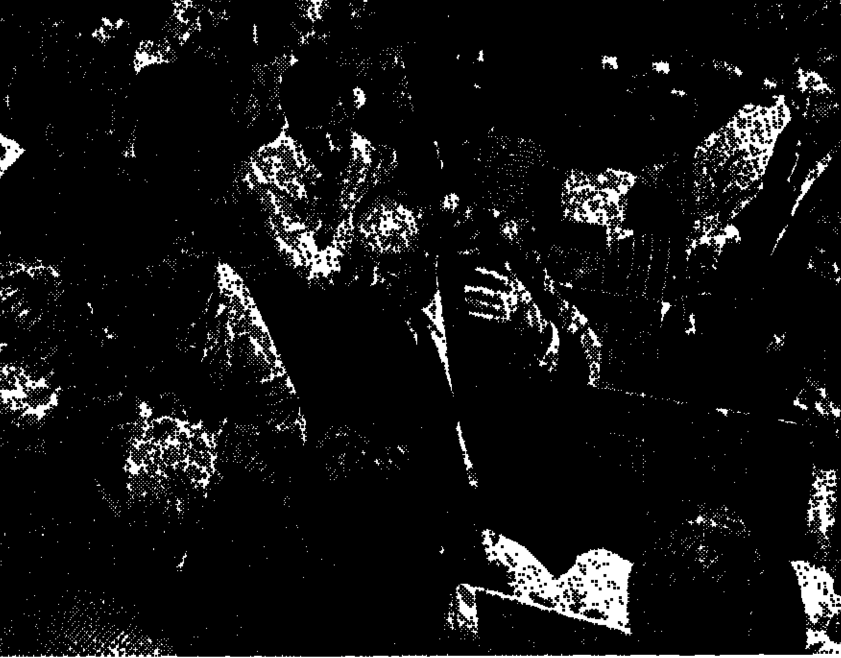
And would a CDU headed by Stoltenberg or Albrecht or Späth be in a different shape? Would they radiate that power of conviction that the CDU now lacks?

The truth is that the CDU has foundered time and again because it has never managed to reach that open minded, politically interested and socially flexible middle-of-the-road element which, in a democracy like ours, has always helped gain majorities.

The CDU has failed to rally this majority because it has repeatedly sacrificed its attempts at a liberal and pragmatic policy to its penchant for dogmatism and confrontation.

There have no doubt been attempts at loosening up, and Hamburg brings them back to mind.

It was at the 1973 Hamburg congress that the CDU began to explore new territory with its resolutions on land reforms, capital accumulation for all, new company laws and vocational training — reforms which the then national manager of the party, Fink, described as "our Godesberg".



Helmut Kohl sounds out youthful opinion

(Photo: Sven Simon)

And it was the CDU that provided impulses in the 1970s that had a bearing on the problem areas of our welfare society: criticism of mushrooming state bureaucracy, the rediscovery of private initiative and the arousing of interest in the basic values — all of which was indicative of a deep undercurrent of discomfort in society.

But have all these beginnings fallen into place to present the picture of a new and convincing policy?

Has the CDU actually become the party of middle class freedom? (At times it seemed well on its way to becoming exactly that.)

Has it succeeded in providing orientation for a society which, under pressure of politisation and polarisation, has become uncertain and wavering?

Nobody can seriously claim that it has. Whatever attempts the CDU made to gain territory in the political dispute were nullified by its own emotional attacks on a kind of socialism that stands no chance in this country anyway.

The CDU has repeatedly given in to the inclination to treat such major problems as unemployment and energy policy as party matters by blaming them on the coalition and creating the impression that things would fall into place if it took over the reins.

This might be a permissible exaggeration in politics. But once it becomes a permanent line of argument — and this is the line Kohl adopted in his Hamburg address — it can only lead to loss of credibility by engendering expectations that no policy can meet.

All this has deprived the CDU of a positive response from those who have been driven into its fold by the *Zeitgeist*.

After all, even those who fear that our system of justice would come to harm if the latent civil war over nuclear power stations and squatters were to be taken as a sign of civic responsibility must not necessarily be attracted by the clenched teeth public prosecutor attitude that frequently marks the CDU's legal policy.

And those who are worried by the development of German-American relations need not necessarily feel that formulating a European position is tantamount to violating the spirit of the Alliance.

And as to the missionary zeal with which the CDU has been stressing the idyllic haven provided by the family, many will see this as a sign that the party is shirking the tricky realities of modern society rather than as a sign of its trying to cope with them.

True, the CDU has enlarged the range of those things it considers politically feasible. And in this respect its years of programmed effort have had their effect.

Yet the party keeps reverting to a curiously timid dogmatism that views any departure from the party line as sacrilege.

Though the Hamburg congress with its invitation to 500 young people shows how serious the party is about its intention to start a dialogue, the hectic response to Kurt Biedenkopf's ideas on nuclear strategy demonstrates the party's lack of tolerance: we must have a discussion, but make sure it doesn't touch upon the image of party unity.

But is this image really impressive enough to deserve such circumspection?

If the CDU is to realise that new beginning heralded by the banners in the Hamburg congress hall it must not rely on its traditional image but must itself risk a new beginning.

Hermann Rudolph
(Die Zeit, 6 November 1981)

Continued from page 1

[...]ks, but that does not necessarily [...] him long-term credit in the [...].

[B]rezhnev is using his visit to [...]t to sign important documents [...] emphasise his views and objec[tives] [...] must feel the time is ripe now [...] Germany faces a chill breeze from [...] directions.

[...] attacks on the United States [...] to great disappointment with US [...] but it would be wrong, and we [...] hardly be more mistaken, to be[lieve] [M]oscow was now looking around [...] chief partner, possibly Bonn.

[...] policy remains stubbornly [...] on the United States and will [...] so even more obstinately the [...] unpredictable America is.

[...] Kremlin is well aware of differ[ences] [...] in importance and has always [...] able to draw a clear distinction be[tween] [...] great, medium-sized and smaller [...].

Josef Riedmiller
([Süddeutsche] Zeitung, 4 November 1981)

Conservatives test temperature among the young

Five hundred young people took part in a special discussion at the invitation of the CDU during the party's congress in Hamburg.

It was a risky but promising experiment: more than half were not CDU sympathisers.

But it was a success. Berlin's Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker played a major part in making it so.

His introductory speech, far and away better than the usual party speech, created a favourable atmosphere in which the young people were prepared to listen to answers that contradicted their own views.

And it was von Weizsäcker who — elaborating on the previous day's speech by Secretary-General Heiner Geissler — gave new accents to *Ostpolitik*.

Geissler had stressed that the CDU wanted to give some life to the treaties with the East Bloc while Weizsäcker emphasised the importance of orderly relations with the Soviet Union.

This is, of course, no new *Ostpolitik*, but it clarifies CDU views and shifts accents which could be important should the CDU come to power in Bonn.

As to the discussion with the young people, the question is: What will the CDU make of it?

Additional young voters cannot be rallied by inviting the youth to a party congress but only by a good and plausible policy that can be respected and accepted by both generations.

Rudolf Bauer
(Rheinische Post, 5 November 1981)

■ PERSPECTIVES

American journalists read the German barometer for themselves

Eighteen US journalists representing 300 newspapers with a combined circulation of 100 million have visited Bonn on a fact-finding tour.

They were invited by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in collaboration with Georgetown University of Washington, D.C. The Adenauer Foundation has close ties with the Christian Democrats.

The Christian Democrats are the Bonn Opposition, but as part of a bid to settle disputes between the two countries that was dubbed *Operation Offenheit*, or Operation Frankness, the visitors saw nearly all the country's major political leaders.

They were hosted by Chancellor Schmidt and by Opposition leader Helmut Kohl and welcomed by President Carstens and Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker of Berlin.

At a time when ties between Germany and America seemed to have reached a particularly low ebb the jounalists were flown over from the New World to see for themselves what was going on in Europe.

Events in Europe are given a much too sporadic mention in the American press, they explained. The peace movement that has caused such excitement in Europe is a minor matter when viewed from America.

America is a continent and has problems of its own. In the United States foreign affairs are not rated by any means as important as they are in the European media.

A demonstration in Washington, D.C., by over 200,000 trade unionists made headline news in America.

The 250,000 demonstrators at the Bonn peace rally gained a mention. So did rallies in Paris, London, Rome and Brussels. But they caused no excitement.

When the American party met German journalists in Bonn they showed only limited interest in the peace issue.

One said he had heard there were people in Germany who were more afraid of the Americans than of the Russians, but this was a rhetorical question to which no-one expected a serious answer.

The visitors felt that the broad outline of Bonn politics testified more to a fundamental consensus than to really deep-seated and irreconcilable differences of opinion.

They gained from an encounter with the Opposition leader, Herr Kohl, the impression that he was far from poles apart from the Chancellor, Herr Schmidt, on basic issues.

The relatively harmonious picture painted by Germany as they saw it was partly attributable to the party not meeting representatives of the peace movement or the environmentalists.

They did not even make the acquaintanceship of critical Christian Democrats such as general secretary Heiner Geissler or North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader Kurt Biedenkopf.

So they spent more time on established political leaders and parties than on issues. Was Herr Kohl clearly the CDU/CSU's choice as Shadow Chancellor? Would he stand any chance in a straight fight with Chancellor Schmidt?

Were the Social Democrats, the Chancellor's party, at the end of their political tether? What might be expected of Gerhard Stoltenberg, the Schleswig-Holstein CDU leader?

The US journalists soon had public life in Germany covered, so it was not long before they were being pumped by their German counterparts on US affairs.

There could be no doubt, they said, that the Reagan administration's defence policies enjoyed majority support among Americans.

Yet in the long term there could be no ruling out the possibility of a peace movement of some kind or another gaining momentum in the United States.

Non-violent protest has a longstanding tradition in the USA. Harry Belafonte and Coretta King, who both attended the Bonn peace rally, could get thousands of people on to the streets back home whenever they felt so inclined.

One woman journalist in the party said the peace movement had already gained a foothold in the Church in the United States.

President Reagan's arms build-up might be in keeping with US opinion at present, but the situation could change if Americans were to be directly affected.

This could be the case if welfare spending were, for instance, to be axed for the sake of defence spending.

A German journalist who had recently returned from America said he had found people in Utah and Nevada to be most interested in armaments-related issues.

Both states are scheduled to p[...] bases for gigantic MX missile p[...] entailing 2,000 missiles that will be on the move over substantial distan[...]

After mass protest from local o[...] and local Congressmen President R[...] decided to commission a much [...] modest version of the MX proj[...] stead.

The upshot of this exchange of [...] was that the peace movement in [...] many and its sporadic protest [...] might, in the long term, promote [...] mate of US opinion that was fa[...] favourable for Western Europe.

Under pressure from their vote[...] Congressmen might well be les[...] lined than at present to stand th[...] thick and thin by US commitmen[...] Western Europe.

But this is not an issue that in [...] way holds the stage in the US me[...] present.

Chancellor Schmidt will be no [...] have been alone in being interest[...] the assessment of the situation in [...] rica made by John P. Wallach [...] Hearst group's man in Washington.

Mr Wallach says the struggle [...] power between the moderates an[...] ideologists in the Reagan camp is [...] means over.

Secretary of State Haig as a pu[...] detente specialist Henry Kissinger [...] sceptical of Soviet policies but in [...] ciple prepared to collaborate with [...] Russians in all sectors, including [...] control.

Ed Meese, the White House ch[...] staff, and security adviser Richard [...] in contrast represented the ideol[...] howks in Mr Reagan's Washington.

They were banking on the assum[...] that the decline and fall of comm[...] was inevitable and there was thus [...] point in helping to stabilise the S[...] Union by cooperation of whatever k[...]

That was why events in Poland [...] viewed in a variety of ways in Wash[...] ton. Defence Secretary Weinberger [...] relative terms a hawk, was warning [...] Russians not to strike at Solidarity, [...] Polish trade union, whereas Secretary [...] State Haig said this was a domestic [...] ter for Poland alone to decide.

Wolfgang Borgm[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 October 1[...])

A generation of changes for Bonn, Washington

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, who has just returned from a visit to Washington, sees herself as a member of the generation that founded the Federal Republic of Germany.

She means the "post-war generation of Germans from all professional, political and social groups on whose basic convictions the United States exerted a deep influence."

Frau Hamm-Brücher, who is a state secretary at the Bonn Foreign Office, went to Harvard on a student exchange in 1949.

She feels a generation has since grown up for which America no longer has the same significance. It is the generation of successors (rather than founders).

They are young people who are no longer motivated by a spirit of having ties with the United States as a matter of course. That, she says, is where the problems arise.

To hear her talk to journalists at the German embassy in Washington or her lecture sponsored by *Foreign Policy* magazine, one could be excused for feeling a nostalgic longing for the days of [...] shall aid and Care parcels.

In those days the Atlantic world [...] in order and the bridge that spanned [...] ocean was firm and without rifts.

In those days people still realised [...] the Atlantic alliance meant more t[...] mere defence pact. In those days t[...] was still such a thing as gratitude.

This, in broad outline, was the [...] orical and philosophical background [...] Frau Hamm-Brücher's mission in [...] United States. She is convinced [...] thing must be done to remedy the [...] tion.

The Germans' view of America, [...] says, distorted, especially the view [...] by those who have never been i[...] United States.

The Americans' view of Germa[...] kewise leaves much to be desire[...] school history textbooks the close[...] students get to present-day Germa[...] she says, Hitler and Holocaust.

What is to be done? She mentio[...] conference at Gymnich Castle, ne[...]

Continued on page 5

[S]TATE SECURITY

[E]xtreme right offers lure [of] cameraderie

[...]e loss of solidarity and warmth in [...]ciety is probably one of the roots [...]-wing extremism in Germany, ac[...]g to Bonn Interior Minister Ger[...] Baum.

[...]dership of extremist groups [...] a haven and cameraderie.

[...]ther cause, said the Minister in an [...]ew, was lack of information.

[...] blamed schools and parents for [...]ightening children enough.

[...]r Baum warned that at stake in [...]sue was the German reputation [...] the nations that were attacked by [...]ffered at the hands of the Nazis in [...]cond World War.

[...]hat are the latest findings of our [...]ty agencies about the extent of the [...]ful terror potential in this coun[...]

[...]e disturbing trend of 1980 contin[...] There were 43 acts of violence mo[...]d by right wing extremism in the [...]alf of this year, among them three [...] attacks and two armed robberies. [...] a few days ago we discovered a [...]zi arms cache filled to the brim [...] explosives. This is a clear indica[...] that there is a possibility of vio[...] from that quarter.

[...]w large is the hard core of right [...]ists?

[...]e know of 22 neo-Nazi action [...] with a total of 800 members plus [...]her persons who are not organ[...] Of these 1,400 activists, the securi[...]ncies regard 150 as potentially vio[...] In addition, there are sympathisers [...] right wing extremists. We estimate [...] there are some 400 people who [...] the neo-Nazis financially.

[...]hat motivates these donors?

[...]hey identify with the aims of the [...] Nazis. Most of them are incorrig[...] But unfortunately they include not [...] old Nazis but also fellow-travellers [...]did not experience the Third Reich [...] have adopted its ideology. The [...]ment is promoted by such disgust[...] publications as the *Deutsche Natio[...]tung*.

[...]e socalled "Buback obituary" of [...] left extremists caused enormous in[...]tion. But similar pamphlets by the [...] wing extremists can be had at vir[...] every newsstand. Yet the politi[...] don't seem to get worked up about [...]

[...] me, this is a source of constant [...]n and outrage. These desk crimi[...]re a disgrace to our country; they [...]ch our image abroad and persuade [...] people to take up arms.

Q: Does right extremism receive support from abroad?

A: It has bases abroad. Despite its national aims, there is an intensive international cooperation among right wing extremists. Other countries – France, for instance – are used by the right wing terrorists as a "rest area" and a base from which to prepare attacks. The Lebanon also plays a role here – as it does with the left wing extremists.

Q: Why haven't you long ago banned the *Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands* (People's Socialist Movement of Germany) which was involved in the Munich shoot-out?

A: Every Federal government has consistently declined to publicly air the pros and cons of a possible ban. And I'm doing the same. If we were to publicly state that we are preparing a ban it would serve as a warning and might lead to the removal of evidence or drive the extremists underground. And if we were to discard the possibility of a ban it would be tantamount to a green light.

Q: How do you explain the fact that it is above all young people between 16 and 30 who join the right wing activists?

A: There are many reasons. One of them is the haven and camaraderie of a group. The loss of warmth and solidarity in society is probably one of the roots of right wing extremism. But there are other shortcomings of our society that come to light: too little information and enlightenment by parents and schools.

Q: Does this surprise you? Is it not easy to see that many families don't critically delve into Nazism since 13 per cent of the voting population has a "right extremist *Weltanschauung*," as a survey shows?

A: I won't go into percentages. But I have always worked on the assumption that such trends are latent among our public. How else could Nazism have arisen in the first place? I see the right wing extremism in this country primarily before the backdrop of the Hitler dictatorship which became a reality here because it was possible.

As a result, the right wing extremism of today has an importance for me that goes far beyond the figures that have been established by our security agencies.

Q: Do you see any connection between right wing extremism and xenophobia?

A: There are very close links. The right extremists have seized upon this issue and cultivate xenophobia. They follow closely in the footsteps of the Nazis. They're trying to benefit from the animosity against foreigners.

This harbours dangers for democratic parties. The CDU in particular should guard against this animosity in election campaigns as was done by the CDU in Baden-Württemberg. *Hans Peter Schütz*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 31 October 1981)

Police raid yields grenades and rocket launchers

More than 20 arms caches containing a total of 40 rocket launchers, more than 100,000 rounds of ammunition, about 150 kilos of explosives and hundreds of hand grenades were discovered when police raided a right-wing extremist group in Lüneburg Heath, Lower Saxony. They were led to the spot by a 44-year-old forest worker, Heinz Lembke. He later hanged himself in his cell.

The news from the Lüneburg Heath is frightening – and not only for the faint-hearted. Anybody with a bit of imagination can easily visualise the mayhem that could have been caused by such an arsenal. And the realists among us can easily visualise the bloodbath that can be caused with all the other weapons that are still undiscovered because no forest worker happened to find them by chance.

The danger has now become real and it can affect all of us.

If somebody hoards explosives, machine guns, bazookas and cyanide he is bound to contemplate not only attacks on politicians and other VIPs; he is also planning and reharsing a civil war because massacres like that at Munich's October Festival last year don't yield quick results.

We have known since the Munich bomb attack at the latest that at least some of the right wing extremists shirk no brutality, no matter how pointless, in their bid to draw attention to themselves.

We have every reason to be frightened, and the helpless response by the state to such terrifying news does little to dispel the fear.

Once more – as happened a couple of weeks ago when a few heavily armed neo-Nazis shot it out with the police – we see the same ritual unfold as that presented after the Oktoberfest massacre without anything substantial having been achieved: appeals by politicians not to minimise the dangers from right wing extremism; statements to the effect that left-wing extremists are also heavily armed and the attempts by some politicians to make political capital out of the fear that is gripping the public.

Clichés mushroom on the compost of general helplessness as invariably does the hope that frantic activity will gloss over the justified apprehension that prevails.

Naturally, the first thing is to call on the lawmakers, as if anybody could seriously believe that the problem can be solved if only we close the loopholes in our legal structure.

Nobody can deny that the Nazi propaganda material is repulsive and dangerous – material which, in some instances coming from America, is distributed by the ton in this country.

There can also be no doubt that everything must be done to tighten controls here.

But nobody should expect too much of such measures. In fact, we should expect as little from them as from the idea that denying Nazi crimes should in future be treated as a criminal offence.

Would that not achieve exactly the opposite by turning self-styled historians who have been prosecuted into martyrs? Would such extremist publications as the *Nationalzeitung* not become even more explosive if they had to be circulated under the counter?

True, the authorities (not least in Bavaria) have long been wrong in their evaluation of right wing terrorism. But this no longer applies, and the police are rapidly approaching the limits of their scope. In any event, only a police state can fully control terrorism no matter from which quarter.

So what remains is the much cited discussion despite depressing memories of the way in which such debates tend to develop in this country. They are marked by apportioning blame to all sides, digging up "roots" and presenting evidence that destroys more than it explains.

If such a discussion is to have any meaning at all it must go beyond the old insights no matter how true they might be.

And one of these truths is that many an evil statement that originated in our established parties, many a headline in what is called the serious press, many an appeal to the base instincts of xenophobia, of racist and nationalist arrogance has helped prepare the ground for the militant right wing extremism of today.

It is also true that our system of government cannot survive if it cannot politically weather all the revolting, stupid and twisted ideas that go with extremism.

There is some urgency now to the question as to what new constellation has made right wing radicalism so explosive, the same radicalism that our republic has managed to keep under reasonable control since its inception.

What went wrong in our society that a small part of its young generation should once more be fascinated by the warped ideas of its fathers and grandfathers, by the monstrosity of a wrongly understood camaraderie, the idea of violence and the feeling of power that results from making other people tremble for fear of bombs?

As long as we find no simple answers to this and many other questions, only patience, equanimity and constant enlightenment within the family, at school and in the media can help.

The fact that grenades and bazookas do not improve but wreck the atmosphere for such a drive is possibly the most frightening aspect of the news from the Lüneburg Heath.

Herbert Riehl-Heyse

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 November 1981)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Continued from page 4

[...] where the government had tried [...]s stock of German-American ties.

[...]e was, it had been felt, a shortfall [...]sonal contacts (although this could [...] be said to apply to politicians and [...]ty officials, who fly to and fro ac[...] the North Atlantic so often as to [...] an airlift of their own).

[...] addition to stepping up personal [...] Frau Hamm-Brücher would like to [...] Germany's cultural presence in the [...]d States, where there are currently [...] five fully operative Goethe Insti[...]

[...]ltural diplomacy was prticularly [...]-represented in Washington, D.C., [...]e there was a catchment area of three million people in addition to academic, political and economic interests.

Yet Washington seems to be low on the priority list for the establishment of new Goethe Institutes. Have we got the priorities right?

Bonn certainly plans to be more active in its bids to influence the media, and not only by bankrolling fact-finding missions but also by trying to sell German TV productions to American TV stations.

Frau Hamm-Brücher has visions of a kind of Trans-Tele Agency like the one set up for the Third World.

In Germany the view of America must be modified. People must be made to appreciate the democratic basic structure in the United States, including, she says, the fact that Presidents come and go.

It remained to be seen to what extent the Bonn government might be able to assist in getting this message across in Germany. The media would rightly object to any kind of interference.

So Frau Hamm-Brücher's mission was, in the final analysis, somewhat vague. She was well received at the State Department by Secretary of State Haig, Walter Stoessel and Lawrence Eagleburger.

But who would not be in favour of a bid to intensify relations?

Horst Schreitter-Schwarzenfeld

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 November 1981)

■ BUSINESS

EEC Commission defines performances in the international big league

France's new head of state sounds even more ambitious than his predecessors. Shortly after he was elected President M. Mitterrand said he was going to take France to the top of the league of industrialised nations.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, his predecessor, had sought to tempt voters with similar, but slightly more modest promises.

The leading industrialised countries were America, Japan, Germany and France in that order. Giscard was going to make the *grande nation* No. 3.

He may console himself with the thought that M. Mitterrand will be equally unliely to deliver. Even the wildest optimist can no more than hope the next generation will restore France to what might be considered its rightful place.

At present it is trailing too far behind the other three to do more than lay the groundwork for a bid to overtake them.

"The Federal Republic of Germany," says the European Commission in Brussels, "is the leading industrial power in Europe." (It is referring only to Common Market countries, of course.)

"It has a specialisation pattern that in terms of both world demand and world trade is well suited to demand patterns and to relative comparative advantages."

In other words, Germany is in a much better position than other EEC countries in world markets. In many markets high-grade German products are indispensable.

Germany 'alone in holding its own'

"When the current specialisation pattern is taken into account," the Brussels statisticians say, "Germany is the only European country that can hold its own in competition with America and Japan."

The Commission has published a new set of figures to substantiate this claim, a claim other, neighbouring countries are less than enthusiastic about.

The figures aim to show the extent to which the United States, Japan and the EEC countries have put their strong points (capital, skilled labour and know-how) to good use to ensure safe and lucrative markets all over the world.

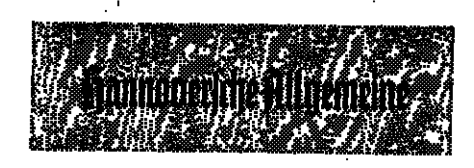
Safe markets means markets where they are not increasingly threatened by competition from cut-price countries where labour costs are lower.

The statisticians have compiled for 24 countries figures indicating the proportion of high-grade products among their exports.

The categories included were computers, telecommunications, industrial robots, steel products chemicals, motor vehicles, electronics, mechanical engineering and motors.

The respective proportion was compared with the average for the 24 OECD countries, and Europe in general (but not Germany) compared badly with the leading industrialised nations of the West.

Taking 1 as the average, the Common Market countries as a whole have not exceeded 0.9 since 1963. In other words, their aggregate exports of high-grade



products is below the average for the top 24 Western industrialised countries.

This disgraceful performance is improved on only by the Federal Republic, which has a rating of 1.1, whereas America and Japan made the running in 1979 with a rating of 1.4 each.

In relative terms America and Japan export most technology and have the safest export markets that promise, in the long run, the best earnings and the most jobs.

The figures for exports of goods in categories that entail little skilled labour, such as clothing, textiles and footwear, tell the same story in reverse.

In this sector the Common Market countries export more than the average. Individually, only Germany and France are below average, with 0.8 and 0.9 respectively.

Between 1963 and 1979 Japan succeeded in reducing its rating at this end of the scale from 1.0 to 0.6.

These figures testify to an industrial realignment and modernisation in Japan that as far as Europe is concerned is a mere dream.

Japan has drawn more or less level with the United States, which is still the most advanced country technologically.

Between them they are ideally equipped to cope with competition from low-wage countries. They need fear no competition in world export markets.

The Brussels statisticians say Germany still compares well with these two, but it runs the risk of forfeiting Top Three status, with the trend running against it.

Germany is still the world's largest exporter of manufactured goods but it is losing ground. In terms of total OECD imports its market share has declined from 21 to 17.5 per cent since 1963.

Between 1963 and 1979 France's share of OECD imports in this category increased slightly, from 7.6 to 8.4 per cent.

These overall figures in the Brussels statistics are not the ones that have caused alarm. The more detailed statistics are the worrying ones.

They indicate that Germany has lost ground in all industries that manufacture high-grade goods and gained ground in others where output is largely the work of unskilled labour.

In electrical engineering, for instance, Germany's OECD export share fell from 23.6 to 18.5 per cent between 1963 and 1979, whereas it marked time at 7.8 per cent in clothing.

The French statistician in Brussels was unable to refrain from a little *Schadenfreude*, or pleasure at the discomfiture of others.

"This," he wrote, "might possibly be considered the first sign of a decline in German industrial power."

But the fact is that the figures are, when it comes to the point, too vague. In clothing, for instance, German manufacturers have mainly specialised over the past 15 years.

As a result they look good in comparison with their competitors, yet for statistical purposes clothing is regarded as a primitive industry threatened by competition from the Third World.

The distinction between industries relying on skilled or unskilled labour is too rough and ready to warrant sweeping judgements.

Even so, it pinpoints trends accurately, so there is every reason to wonder why the trend seems to be running against Germany.

Japanese export drives in many world markets are partly to blame. French wine-growers may not be threatened by Japanese manufacturers, but German mechanical engineering certainly is.

Besides, a major exporter obviously has greater difficulty in maintaining his share of markets over a long period than a minor one does.

He will find it harder to hold his own, let alone to corner a even larger share of the market.

In value terms Germany exports more than twice as much high-grade industrial output as Britain or France, and four times as much as Italy.

The 1979 figures, again for the OECD countries only, were 20.2 per cent for Germany, 8.6 for France and 8.1 for Britain.

Last not least, the European Community does not exactly encourage entrepreneurs to go with the times.

"The Community has pursued a protectionist policy favouring domestic manufacturers," the Brussels experts say. Manufacturers have certainly held their own much better at home than in markets outside the EEC.

Between 1963 and 1979 European computer manufacturers' share of world markets fell from 28 to 16 per cent, yet within the EEC the decline was from 58 to 44 per cent as a market share.

This somewhat more encouraging performance was doubtless due to government orders being placed with domestic manufacturers.

European motor manufacturers, on the other hand, seem to have lost ground steadily on world markets since the early 60s. Over the period reviewed their share of world exports has plummeted from 85 to 28 per cent.

This percentage seems sure to have declined further over the past two years, with manufacturers beating an orderly retreat to EEC markets.

The only industries in which EEC manufacturers have more or less held their own over the years have been mechanical engineering and chemicals, especially the latter.

These figures cannot all be used against manufacturers in Europe. Motor manufacturers have decided, for sound commercial reasons, not to try at all costs to maintain their world market share in all cases.

Safe domestic markets have been deemed more important.

There can be no denying that the Common Market does tend to encourage the ominous tendency in Europe to hold on to outmoded and antiquated industries.

It is as though it were a historic right enjoyed by France or Belgium to produce 25 million or 12 million tonnes of steel per annum.

Japan was once a major exporter of clothing, leather, footwear, wood and cork products, but it has long pulled out of these markets and gone into more lucrative ones.

Yet in Europe the Common Ma[rket] and the EEC Council of Ministers [in] Brussels are a constant temptation [to] demand protection and apply for im[port] controls.

Protectionists make a beeline for [su]pranational decision-makers in Eu[rope] such as the Council of Ministers. G[er]man clothing manufacturers definitely [are] given more protection in Brussels [than] they really need.

For German industry the increas[ing] protectionist trend in the Euro[pean] Community has astonishing co[nse]quences. German exporters are hol[ding] their own in world markets despite the EEC, not because of it.

Since the specialisation pattern [of] German export industries well [suits] world demand, as the experts put it, [the] EEC has tended to decline in imp[or]tance for German exporters.

Their competitors in neighbou[ring] countries have, in contrast, increasi[ngly] concentrated on domestic and [EEC] markets.

Exports to other EEC countries is [an] accordingly small proportion of Ger[ma]ny's exports overall, relatively speaki[ng]. Two years ago they stood at 48.3 [per] cent and are likely to have declined f[ur]ther in the wake of booming exports [to] the Middle East.

In 1975, the year of the first m[ajor] export boom to the petrodollar co[un]tries, German exports to other E[EC] countries declined to 43.6 per cent [of] the total.

In most cases exports to other Co[m]mon Market countries amount to [a] much larger percentage, with Bri[tain] being the only exception to the rule.

The Benelux countries export 73 [per] cent of exports to other countries. [The] figure for Italy, which imports m[uch] more oil, is 50 per cent.

In 1958, the year in which the orig[in]al Common Market first operat[ed,] French exports to what, today, are t[he] other nine accounted for only 28 [per] cent of French exports overall.

The figure for Germany all th[ose] years ago was higher: 34.5 per cent.

From these figures it is only a sho[rt] step to condemning the EEC out [of] hand, which is not intended. But it [is] not true to say that Germany depe[nds] on the EEC more heavily than any ot[her] member-country.

Pitfalls in marketing in the EEC

This has never been the case and th[e] exact opposite is true. All other EE[C] countries concentrate more on EE[C] markets than German industry does (o[r] ever has done).

This even applies to Britain, which [in] 1958 did a mere 20 per cent of its e[x]port trading with the Common Mar[ket] countries. Britain now does nearly 43 p[er] cent of its export trade within the EEC.

If Germany were to follow in the[se] footsteps with its technologic[ally] advanced and world market range [of] products, it would undoubtedly decl[ine] in comparison with its internatio[nal] competitors.

So it has to concentrate on compe[ti]tion with the United States and Jap[an,] not on competition within Europe. T[he] Common Market is an easy one, but p[o]tentially dangerous.

This is certainly not what the m[en] who launched it had in mind.

Winfried Münster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 October 19[81])

[F]INANCE

Time that Bonn's patchwork economic policies came to an end

[Bon]n's financial policy is one of hole [plu]gging: feverish cutbacks where[...] and patching up measures on [...]ing budget.

[The] latest hole to be plugged was an [...] deficit that was suddenly dis[...]. The fact that it was plugged [...] peace between the coalition part[...] the month of October.

[Ther]e is no purpose to this sort of [...]al policy. It is perfectly obvious [what sh]ould be done.

[Thi]s year will see an annual average [of mor]e than 1.25 million unemployed. [This w]ill rise to at least 1.6 million and [...]d to hit the 2 million mark in [the win]ter of 1982.

[It] is indicated that we are headed [for th]e same thing Britain is experienc[ing n]ow: the danger of political and [...]ic destabilisation.

[The] danger is greater today than in [the e]arly 1950s when unemployment [reache]d today's proportions. But at that [time t]he situation improved rapidly; to[day it] is deteriorating.

[The] dramatic development on the la[bour m]arket is matched by the bleak [mood a]mong businessmen and investors. [Perhap]s it is exaggerated to speak of dis[aster] at this stage but there can be no [over]looking the fact that major and [...] problems are becoming increa[singly c]umulative.

[Comp]anies like Krupp, Hoesch and [...], which were once bastions of soli[dity,] now make headlines with their [...]ns rather than pioneering innova[tions a]nd export successes.

The number of bankruptcies has reached an all-time record in the history of the Federal Republic. Profits continue to dwindle and under-capitalisation is the order of the day. Our plant and equipment is older than ever before — and this, too, is a sort of "English sickness."

In view of all these problems, Bonn's financial policy can only be called amateurish. The politicians keep haggling over figures after the decimal point as if thrift for its own sake were a political virtue.

It has not occurred to them to consider where thrift is good and where it can be disastrous.

They defend social security achievements as if they were guarantees for the continued existence of the state. And they celebrate a formally balanced budget as a major success.

Yet there can no longer be any doubt as to the economic and social objectives that a Federal budget of more than DM240bn should serve: it should restore to the country to kind of prosperity that ensures full employment and pays for the welfare state.

If the Bonn government were still capable of acting it would ensure that all its tinkering with the budget served only these aims.

If it did so, it could stop constantly presenting excuses for the fact that the number of jobless will continue rising for the next four or five years and that the adaptation of Germany's raw materials-dependent industry will take at least as long. Both these facts are not the government's fault.

If this were to happen, the government could devote all its energy to creating new jobs and to accelerating industry's adaptation.

What the Federal Republic of Germany needs is a growth and employment programme of unprecedented proportions, and this calls for a steep rise in investment-promoting government spending.

But since both government and industrial investment can only result from less consumption it would be pointless to add such spending to the envisaged budget.

The only thing that would make sense would be to finance it at the expense of the state's consumption spending.

This would have to go hand-in-hand with additional measures to facilitate investment and to cushion the social problems of the next few years. Such a programme could consist of five basic elements:

- The public sector (Federal, state and municipal) would have to step up investment spending by at least DM20bn a year.
- This would pay for the development of piped heating, the development of public transport systems and rehabilitation of our polluted rivers, forests and fields, for instance.
- These programmes could be financed by across the board cutbacks in tax relief and subsidies by, say, five per cent and a greater reduction than now planned of civil service pay.
- Though it is naturally necessary to protect the unemployment insurance fund from abuse, we must not try to save in the very sector that would play a major role in preventing tomorrow's unemployment. The promotion of retraining and further education should be stepped up rather than curtailed by cutting the budget — though the yardsticks to be applied would have to be stricter — because the number of those who become unemployed for lack of skills and may never find a job again is still extremely high.
- Like unemployment benefits, other social benefits should also be reviewed to prevent abuse. This ranges from unwarranted social welfare payments via the run on disability benefits that save taxes all the way to absenteeism due to pretended illness.
- Despite years of discussion, we still have investment barriers which we shall be even less able to afford in the years to come.

Billions of deutschemarks are blocked when simple applications for construction projects have to be handled by 120 different people before a decision is reached and when a necessary rent increase cannot be implemented due to the laws protecting tenants, leaving no option but to take the matter to court. It is up to parliament to remove these barriers.

It is not yet too late for such a policy. A government capable of acting decisively would have embarked on it long ago and a strong opposition would have demanded it in concrete terms.

But our government goes on fiddling around with the symptoms. So the time has come for it to rethink or resign.

Dieter Piel

(Die Zeit, 30 October 1981)

Unemployment likely to remain a major problem

[Th]e number of jobless young people [i]n the European Community now [...] the number of school leavers this [y]ear: four million.

[On]e in four people cannot find a job. [Amon]g those aged between 20 and 25, [the r]atio is one in six.

[Sta]tistics show that the ten member [state]s of the EEC do not know what [to do] with a whole year's crop of young[sters].

[Alm]ost every second unemployed man [unde]r 25, although males in that age [group] account for only 20 per cent of the [worki]ng population.

[Bu]t they are not only the main vic[tims.] They are just the first ones to be [fire]d when a company no longer pulls [in eno]ugh orders.

[Fig]ures for Germany create the im[pressi]on that the worst is over for the [young] generation. The quota looking for [work] has dropped from 29 per cent in [...] to 20 per cent now.

[Bu]t figures are deceptive. It is the [young] people who are hit first when [there] is a job shortage. And if the shor[tage] continues or worsens it will also in[creas]ingly affect the age group between [... a]nd 50.

[Th]e truth is that there is little our [young] people can expect from our in[dustri]al society in the next three or four [years].

[Th]e number of those who are looking [for] work rises much too fast. The eco[nomic] growth in the past six years has [been] insufficient to accommodate them.

[Th]e social policy makers are not let[ting i]t go at shrugging their shoulders and pointing to the meagre growth figures.

Experts of the EEC Commission regard youth unemployment as the result of neglect in industrial societies.

As they see it, the young people are inadequately trained for a working life and children from low income families are discriminated against in favour of those who are better off.

Vocational schooling alone does not enable people to respond flexibly to job offers.

Apprenticeships are frequently only a source of cheap labour.

According to experts, every young person should receive extensive training until the age of 18. Apprenticeships and special courses should be guaranteed to all to prevent people from finding themselves jobless on leaving school.

The Federal Republic of Germany shows how right the experts are. Their demands have largely been met here.

No other EEC country has progressed so far in developing the dual system of training, vocational school and apprenticeship; and nowhere else is youth unemployment as low as here.

In June — this is as far as German statistics for this year go — people under 25 accounted for only 19.8 per cent of the jobless in this country, com-

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG EEC YOUTH

Jobless per thousand of people between 15 and 24 years

Italy 105, Britain 104, Belgium 97, Denmark 98, France 77, The Netherlands, Ireland 64, Fed. Rep. Germany 27

As at March 1981

pared with 39 per cent in France, 49 per cent in Italy, 47 per cent in Holland and 39 per cent in Britain.

But there are considerably more young people joining the labour market elsewhere in the EEC than in Germany. The number of Germans as a whole is no longer growing.

Not all statistics can be compared — if for no other reason because countries with high inflation rates and problematic political conditions, such as Italy, have a growing number of working people who go underground and no longer appear in statistics.

The EEC Commission estimates that Italy has between two and seven million such "black market workers".

Even so, there is a conspicuous difference between Germany and the other Community countries.

True, industry offers apprenticeships in all EEC countries. But nowhere else are these apprenticeships such a firm part of the industrial system.

This enables the government to pursue an employment policy for the young in concert with the business community or by subsidising additional apprenticeships.

It is on-the-job training rather than vocational school that gives young people that quantum of self-confidence they need to compete on the labour market.

Even so, our employment policy for the young is still in its infancy compared with what could be done.

The EEC Commission is trying to assist the individual members with its huge DM960m social fund.

But all this money does not come under the heading "fight against unemployment".

What the member states ask for is more social welfare than assistance in creating jobs.

Arnsberg and Saarbrücken provided millions for the basic training of young people even before the rapid increase in youth unemployment. Job creation is only just beginning.

Winfried Münster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 October 1981)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Breakfast raid clears out camp of Frankfurt runway protesters

The police took the *Hüttendorf*, or makeshift village of wooden huts built by demonstrators on the site of the new runway at Frankfurt airport, by surprise.

It was 9 a.m. and the villagers, 60 or 70 of them, were rudely awakened by the men in uniform and told to get packing.

Violence had been feared when the village was evacuated but when the police actually moved in there was little or no noise, let alone resistance.

It was a far cry from the month before, when the police had arrived in strength and the deadline for evacuation of part of the site had been known in advance.

This time the authorities had banked on secrecy, and it worked. Kurt Oeser, the environmentalist clergyman, was at the doctor's when two platoons of regular police and special units arrived.

The demonstrators headed straight for the nearest telephones. The alarm was sounded by chuch bells ringing in nearby villages. But by the afternoon only a few hundred people had arrived to strengthen their ranks.

The huts were surrounded by ditches, palisades and barbed wire, but now the positions were reversed. The demonstrators were outside and the police within.

Police officers lit fires and roasted potatoes to keep warm and pass the time in the sparse comfort of the wooden huts, tree houses and watchtowers.

As irony would have it, the emplacements built so laboriously by the demonstrators now faced them. The police dug in and had little difficulty in holding on to the ground gained.

The day beforehand no-one had expected the end to come so soon. The day before had seen a climax of the violent clashes over the new runway after periodic skirmishes since the first evacuation at the beginning of October.

Public discussion of plants to build a new runway and of the protest movement against extensions to Rhine-Main airport grew increasingly emotion-laden.

Ekkehard Gries, Interior Minister of Hesse, can hardly be said to have poured oil on troubled waters with his comment that some of the Hüttendorf-dwellers were chaotic, anti-social and criminal.

The Hesse police, he said, would have had no difficulty in clearing out the demonstrators.

The demonstrators were equally untiring in their output of reports that supporters of the protest movement had been seriously injured in clashes with a punchdrunk police force.

The Protestant Church joined in, playing a none too glorious part, while opponents of the new runway came up with the absurd idea that it was to be built solely for military use.

In the event of hostilities, it was argued, the new runway would be used to fly in Nato manpower and equipment. 'No New Runway for the Yanks' was one of the many protest graffiti.

The day before the police moved in, the situation came to a head. First there was a peaceful demonstration, then about 300 masked demonstrators began to demolish the mile and a half of concrete blocks and barbed wire built as a wall behind which construction work on the new runway was due to start.

In small groups about 100 of them used sledge hammers and steel cutters in a bid to knock down the wall and clear the barbed wire.

Facing them there were just a couple of platoons of riot police. The police trained water cannons on the demonstrators until evening came and work ground to a halt.

This move did not trigger the police counter-strike the following day; the police had clearly been planning to evacuate the settlement of wooden huts for some time.

By afternoon they certainly had the situation under control. Demonstra[..] mainly young people, chanted slog[..] them in disgust. Twice there [..] scuffles.

Only one villagers, Alex, had man[..] to hold on. He was the young man [..] early in October, when adjoining [..] was cleared, had stood bare-chested [..] the embankment crying.

This afternoon Alex was maybe [..] up a tree, the only demonstrator [..] the village.

Kurt Oeser, the clergyman, ret[..] and was presumably wondering wh[..] do about the wooden chapel that [..] been built in the settlement and [..] sionally used for divine service.

It had cost DM 10,000 to build [..] he was wondering whether it could [..] be taken away by low-loader truck [..] use somewhere else.

Autumn leaves started blowing [..] the 60 to 70 deserted huts. The po[..] cut the ropes holding one tree hou[..] position.

Built by the Junge Union, or y[..] movement of the Christian Democ[..] it had long hung by four ropes from [..] tree, a distinctive landmark. Now it [..] brought down to earth with a bump.

By the afternoon groups of pe[..] began to head for the village along [..] access roads and through the forest.

The Wiesbaden Interior Ministry [..] issued the police with leaflets listing [..] basic principles in dealing with dem[..] strators.

They were advised not to allow th[..] selves to be provoked and remin[..] that only a handful of demonstrators [..] sorted to criminal activities; the o[..] whelming majority were merely exe[..] ing a constitutional right.

"Be polite, correct and helpful [..] people who are clearly not associ[..] with excesses. The reputation of u[..] at stake."

Alexander Hoffma[..]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 November [..])

Objectors step up pressure

When the new passenger terminal at Frankfurt airport was opened in 1972 applause was not the only response. Critics accused the planners at Germany's major international airport of thinking too big.

The largest historic monument in Hesse, as opponents of Rhine-Main airport call the burgeoning giant, is bursting at the seams.

A third main runway is planned, but residents and protest campaigners are not making do with verbal criticism this time. They have staged mass protests to try to prevent construction from going ahead.

People who live in nearby Mörfelden and Walldorf are troubled by aircraft noise already. They are worried the new runway will make life intolerable.

Woodland that is an important recreation area for city-dwellers will be felled to make way for the runway. Even more access roads and bypasses will criss-cross the countryside.

In an accident at the airport thousands of litres of kerosene were spilt and seeped through to the ground water, so opponents of the new runway feel it will increase the likelihood of an environmental catastrophe.

The local authorities appealed to an administrative court in Kassel against the decision to give planning permission. Yet planning permission was finalised by Economic Affairs Minister Klaus-Jürgen Hoffie before the court had given a ruling.

In June 1965 when the foundation stone for the new terminal building was laid passenger traffic was expected to increase to 12 million a year.

Capacity was increased as construction progressed, and last year Frankfurt handled 17.6 million passengers. Their number is expected to double to 35 million by 1995.

Frankfurt is the third-busiest airport in Europe. Only London and Paris handle more passengers. In air freight Frankfurt is Europe's No. 1 even, with tonnage on the increase.

That is why supporters of the new runway say it must be built and opened on schedule in 1984.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 4 November 1981)

Airport issue a long-running affair

The village of wooden huts built by demonstrators on the edge of land the planners for years have been itching to develop as a new runway for Frankfurt airport has been flattened.

The people who lived in it have been carried away in tears (some, that is). Others have fought the police or smashed shop windows.

To what purpose? Merely to ensure that justice is done in the state of Hesse as approved by the majority, whereas a minority say the Wiesbaden state government has declared ecological civil war.

The majority argue that constitutional government has prevailed and the way is now clear to go ahead and build the new runway.

If the way in which it was done was a lesson in democracy, it was a tough lesson.

Opponents of the runway have had 15 years in which to canvass support. They have failed to establish a majority in the conventional political parties.

By the rules of representative democracy majority decisions hold good in parliamentary bodies, and minorities must abide by a majority decision.

This they must do even though they may feel they are still entirely right and the majority is entirely wrong. They must be prepared to accept the decision without a murmur and in a disciplined manner.

The runway has been the subject of court proceedings for 12 years. Twice it has even gone to the supreme court. On both occasions opponents have been on the losing side.

As a final resort opponents went in for civil disobedience. They were allowed to campaign for a year and a half. Then the police were called in.

There can be no doubt that the authorities are in the right, but were they right to behave in the way they did?

Was it advisable to evacuate the village of wooden huts on the very day a referendum campaign on the runway was launched in Wiesbaden?

Opponents of the runway need to collect 800,000 signatures before a referendum can be held. Why, if they stand no chance of collecting so many signatures, did the state government not wait until they had failed?

For reasons of police tactics, says Interior Minister Ekkehard Gries. For police state reasons, others might say. Journalists were certainly prevented from going about their work for a while. Bonn Opposition leader Helmut Kohl has said the state these days is reluctant to take decisions and short on leadership. These accusations cannot be levelled at Hesse Premier Holger Börner.

Herr Börner has shown us what a tough state can do, so much so that he seems to have sought not only to carry out a majority decision but also to maintain his strong-man reputation.

Yet the experts had advised him to wait a while and recheck the economic facts and figures before embarking on the tragic conflict between economic growth and environmental protection, between economy and ecology.

Woodman, woodman, spare that t[..] To send in the police in war[..] strength and override the fears of m[..] especially young people, is to provok[..] chain reaction of violence.

Supporters of non-violent resist[..] have likewise proved a failure. It is [..] enough to be peaceful yourself; [..] share responsibility for those amo[..] your numbers who are not entirely [..] posed to replying in kind.

Demonstrators peacefully evacuat[..] the village at Gorleben. At Frankf[..] airport and later in the city centre go[..] intentions went by the board.

"Violence is unfair and foolish," s[..] Gustav Heinmann, Bonn Justice Min[..] ter, after the 1968 riots. "It is a w[..] known fact that violence has the opp[..] ite effect to that intended on pu[..] opinion."

Non-violent resistance to a po[..] baton charge calls for more courage th[..] the decision to lob a brick at the m[..] in uniform.

Minorities such as the Frankfurt [..] port demonstrators have a hard time [..] it. In a democracy they may enjoy co[..] stitutional rights but only too often th[..] are condemned to a life of frustration.

For democracy non-violent critics [..] objectors are the salt of the earth. Th[..] is a lesson to be learnt by the ov[..] whelming majority of people wh[..] convictions take them no further th[..] to the polls every few years.

It ought also to be taken to heart [..] the powers that be, who face more cr[..] cism and resistance nowadays than [..] did, say, 20 years ago.

Karl-Heinz Janss[..]

(Die Zeit, 6 November [..])

[..]IATION

Lufthansa in a bit of a flap over the future

[..]any's national airline, Lufthansa, [..] a turbulent time. The man at [..] of the storm is the chairman of [..], Herbert Culmann.

[..]nsa have the same problems as [..]lines: rocketing fuel costs and [..] passenger and freight earnings.

[..] they are doing far better than [..] their competitors.

[..] will even be able to report a [..]ofit this year, instead of an ori[..] estimated loss of about [..]n.

[..]ofit is arrived at through selling [..]dated versions of Boeing 737s.

[..] has been a sustained campaign [..]e Culmann, but this has met [..]animous resistance from the air[..]ecutive and flying staff.

[..]ain suspicion is that any new [..]ment would be the product of [..]itics rather than qualifications.

[..] federal government is the majori[..]holder in Lufthansa but so far it [..]s run along private commercial [..]

[..]ics say that the problems of the [..]d beyond demand that the man [..]op is someone who has always [..]volved with aviation. Culmann is [..]man.

[..]nsa's current crisis comes as the [..] a savage international air fare [..] forecasts point to a deterioration. [..]y several European Lufthansa [..]tors are only managing to stay [..] due to heavy government sub[..]

[..]ly can accuse Culmann of not [..]anticipated the crisis and chang[..]e in good time.

[..]books in September show an an[..]formance that is no worse than [..] and the passenger load has not [..]ated. There has been no growth, [..]thansa has managed to steer clear [..]kind of setbacks that plague other [..]

[..]e is, in fact, every likelihood that [..]ent difficult year will close with [..]. But this will not be due to re[..] from the airline's fleet of 103 [..] because the route results are [..] the second year in a row.

[..] year already, earnings from fares [..] sufficient to cover the skyrocket[..]s of fuel and personnel.

[..] figures were slightly lower than [..] and the airline transported close [..]million passengers — 1.5 per cent [..]han in 1979.

[..]s here and in the freight sector, [..] the books show a decline of 0.6 [..]t to 397,000 tons, that the world[..]ump and stiff competition had [..]mpact on most non-West Euro[..]utes. But the going was rough [..] Western Europe with all its fare [..]s.

[..] Lufthansa management figured [..]oss this year of about DM112m on [..]sis of developments since the [..]ing of the year.

[..] it has now become obvious that [..]ure was too pessimistic.

[..]mann will be in the enviable posi[..] of being able to report to his su[..]ory board and the shareholders [..] the company has made a book prof[..] is primarily accounted for by the [..] the airline's fleet of Boeing 737 [..] aircraft, with their unfavourable ratio of passenger capacity to operating cost, were replaced by the newest models of the same make.

Earlier, Lufthansa had exchanged its Boeing 747 Jumbos for the latest model.

In addition, the fleet of Boeing 727s had also been replaced by the most up-to-date generation.

Since demand on European routes started flagging there has again been an increased use of 727s and 737s, while the Airbus A 300 that serves the most travelled European routes has partly been withdrawn from traffic and put on long-term charter to foreign companies.

Like so many other airlines, Lufthansa had bought too many Airbuses in too short a time for a passenger market that failed to grow.

The problem of excessive capacities will continue to plague the scheduled and charter airlines for some time.

In both these fields, Lufthansa will have to rationalise.

Routes will have to be dropped and the fleets adapted to changed conditions.

This applies particularly to Lufthansa's charter subsidiary, Condor, which was for many years the airline's most profitable sideline.

Condor is now so far in the red that Culmann made it clear that it will have to be grounded unless things change drastically.

But the Condor dilemma is no noose for the chairman of Lufthansa and nobody accuses him of having failed.

At the root of the problem is the low fare policy of all scheduled airlines. It is this that has led to the crisis in the charter business.

The turbulence for the international airlines — both charter and scheduled — began four years ago. It was triggered by a political decision of ex-President Jimmy Carter and his economic advisers who pursued and implemented an open sky policy.

The situation was exacerbated still further this summer when America's largest and most prestigious airline, PanAm, found itself on the verge of collapse.

To avert disaster, PanAm had to sell its best source of income, the Intercontinental Hotel chain, to a British concern for US$500m.

The new man at the helm of PanAm, C. Edward Acker, is trying to get his company out of the mess and fill seats by slashing fares.

Acker has now applied for his rock-bottom fares on European routes as well. They are to come into effect on 15 November, the worst possible season.

German passengers will only profit if they book the westbound flight in this country and buy their return tickets in the USA.

Lufthansa will not respond by introducing special fares because it feels that most travellers on business will find it too much trouble to buy their return tickets in the States and there are few private passengers travelling on this route at this time of the year.

In any event, Lufthansa points out that the open sky policy has led to a tide of special fare deals. German passengers have benefited from this policy but not to the same extent as passengers in other countries because the Bonn Transport Ministry has put the brakes on these deals.

Bonn and the governments of other European countries have succeeded in preserving Western Europe as an island of high fares.

This part of the world has thus become a protected zone for Europe's national airlines.

Attempts by outsiders to compete and start an air fare war have been blocked by the Transport Ministry in Bonn which disregards even regional interests like those of Lower Saxony and Hanover airport.

As a result, the tiny Swiss airline Crossair, which links Hanover with Zurich, was refused permission to step up operations should the need arise.

The Bonn Transport Ministry also spearheaded the fight for a clean ticket market. Travel agencies selling tickets at discount rates were threatened with stiff fines.

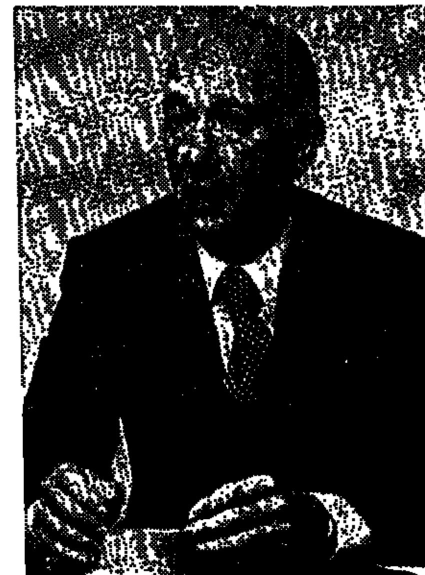
This grey ticket market has been a problem for many years and is largely due to the high fare policy in this country.

Everybody in the business knows that only ignorant private passengers buy their tickets at full rate. Seasoned air travellers know how to fly to any part of the world at a fraction of the regular cost.

One of the chains of discount travel agencies in the 1970s was Euro-Lloyd. Then the chain was owned by Felix Przedborski who was known in the trade as Monsieur Felix.

Today, Euro-Lloyd is a Lufthansa subsidiary, and it was through this company that Lufthansa penetrated the grey market by paying above average commissions on tickets.

The Monsieur Felix affair has only just become publicly known as a result of indiscretion. But Lufthansa's supervisory board had been informed in good time.



The chief, Herbert Culmann ... is he the man for the crucial 80s? (Photo: Interpress)

Neither then nor two years ago when Herbert Culmann's contract came up for renewal did the supervisory board consider the affair a reason to drop the chairman.

And when Culmann, who had just recovered from a severe accident, asked Walter Hesselbach, the chairman of the supervisory board, point-blank: "Should I carry on?" the answer was an unequivocal: "Yes."

This makes the sniping at Culmann now the more surprising. But insiders realised the moment it started that the objective of the attack was to vacate Culmann's post for a successor who has been waiting in the wings for years.

The same man who is now gunning for Culmann took similar action eight years ago. Then, the post was that of supervisory board chairman of the Coop-Zentrale AG in Hamburg which he got in the end.

He is Heinz Ruhnau, state secretary at the Bonn Transport Ministry and a member of Lufthansa's supervisory board.

The attempt to eject Culmann has met with the unanimous resistance of Lufthansa's executive staff and its flying personnel, although the latter have been at loggerheads with Culmann for years.

The front against Ruhnau also stands firm against another contender for the post, the president of Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German railways, Wolfgang Vaerst.

Main reason for the objection to both contenders is the suspicion that they would be appointed for reasons of party politics rather than qualification for the job.

Although the Federal government is a majority stockholder, Lufthansa has been spared such political considerations and has been run as a private commercial company.

Insiders are convinced that the airline needs a man at the top who has been in this line of business all his life — like Culmann — if it is to weather the 1980s and the 1990s. There are two years left in which to find this man. This is when Culmann's contract is to run out. The time should be used to prevent a wrong decision for which the taxpayer would have to pay dearly.

Dieter Tasch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 October 1981)

An Airbus of the Lufthansa livery ... only those who know no better pay the full fare. (Photo: Archiv)

■ THE CINEMA

Hof festival maintains the magic touch

For the 15th time Heinz Badewitz has made such a success of the Hof film festival that people had to be turned away.

Organisers at festivals in Cannes, Berlin, Venice and San Sebastian have to make tremendous efforts to get the right films and halt the decline in audiences.

Badewitz has too many films and far too many people want to see them.

There is just not enough accommodation in hotels and cinemas.

Hof is lucky to have Badewitz with his unerring nose for films and his imaginativeness. If he assumed an air of authority he would look as out of place as he would if he donned a tailcoat.

But he has the kind of natural authority other organisers have been seeking for a lifetime.

The secret of his success is no real secret: since his festival is not subject to the rules that have gradually eroded the major film festivals, he makes his own rules. In other words, he screens what he likes and considers necessary.

And since he has a feeling for the kind of cinema that is beyond the grasp of a festival jury he has earned himself the confidence of film-makers, who now leave him a free hand.

Knowing that he respects unknown talent, film-makers remain loyal even once they have become famous and can find more lucrative venues for the screening of their works.

In addition, there is no competition in Hof, and this precludes the rivalry that has paralysed so many other festivals and that ultimately prevents a genuine comparison of quality.

This, in turn, promotes true quality rather than thinking in terms of prestige.

It is all this put together that makes Hof such a relaxed, happy and informative festival.

Hof provides more information than any other place on latest developments, new talent and independent experiments without the need to apply the yardsticks of future cinematic history.

Newcomers meet with a natural benevolence that makes them shed their insecurity while still leaving them unsure as to the response of their future audience.

This is how Klaus Eichhammer, Ebba Jahn, Dieter Meier, Uli Möller, Karsten Wichniarz and Manfred Stelzer gathered their first experience.

In fact, this is how Helmer von Lützelburg and his university graduation film were given their "appointment for discovery".

His *Die Nacht des Schicksals* (Night of Destiny) is an uncluttered parody of the horror movie, the musical and the melodrama — a "horrifying" story of incest and murder that can be certain of making its viewers laugh as they recognise the old chestnuts underlying the spoof.

Von Lützelburg's playful film proved a talent for the comical situation that is rare among German film-makers.

Paradoxically, the trouble with Hof is that it offers too much that has to be pressed into a mere four days.

This leads to a certain injustice and an arbitrary selection of films in which — naturally — the more established film-makers are favoured to a certain extent.

But it is these established people who make the Hof film festival an important event rather than just an informative one — and this should make the major festivals envious and prompt them to think.

The fact that all major films screened in Hof are German must not be construed as parochialism. This reflects entirely the international situation.

All it proves is that Badewitz considers himself free enough to demonstrate this by such a brazen accomulation of German films.

Two of these films need not be reviewed: *Das letzte Loch* (The Last Hole) by Herbert Achternbusch (without a doubt one of this year's most important films) is already being shown in Munich cinemas. The Hof screening was only intended to present it to the rest of the world.

And Helma Sanders-Brahms' curious and disturbing portrait entitled *Die Berührte* (The Touched One) was shown in Cannes and reviewed at the time. This, too, was a major German premiere.

The interest of the professionals focused primarily on three films, all of which kept their promise.

Especially Werner Schroeter, whose last two film I did not find particularly convincing, showed with his *Tag der Idioten* (Day of the Idiots) that he has regained his tough.

With great concentration, he depicts the story of a girl whose demands on herself and her environment are enormous and who ultimately destroys herself.

Her strange totalitarianism drives her into an environment in which the suffering of society is expressed in the most radical possible way: a mental asylum.

Schroeter describes her experience in the asylum with an unusual abstraction which naturally blends the realistic relating of a story with melodramatic pathos, maintaining a balance throughout.

Colour and sound are of such poignancy as to make Schroeter's story go its own way and become unreal and fascinating, ending in about eight different conclusions.

The sudden invasion of reason into the world of the mentally twisted and exploited turns everything upside down and confuses — more through intensity than through explanation.

What remains is a challenging puzzle that stays unsolved even on second or third viewing.

The same applies to Ulrike Ottinger's *Freak Orlando* which in a way corresponds to Schroeter's film.

Though Ulrike Ottinger is more deliberately poetic when embarking on a journey through the ages, in the course of which she describes the sell-out of myths, her story of loners and freaks depicts a topical picture of our world as a freak city.

Both films are dominated by the realisation which Hans-Christof Stenzel sums up in the maxim that what society considers obscene and peripheral has been stripped of its purity by society itself.

In his films *Marmor, Stein und Eisen bricht* (Marble, Stone and Iron Break) and *Obszön — Der Fall Peter Herzl* (Obscene — the Peter Herzl Case) Stenzel gets two harmless fools involved in the mechanisms of society in which they must of necessity perish.

Stenzel's surrealistic and absurd thought processes come up with many a surprising insight though they are frequently obscured by unnecessary gags.

Still, they could have turned into very beautiful films had Stenzel put more faith in his desire to provoke than in his political intellect.

As it happens, he has put himself in a position of having to prove something which, considering the clear trend of his stories, should have been superfluous.

Rosa von Praunheim's underhanded comedy *Unsere Leichen leben nooh* (Our Corpses Live) escaped this through his improvisation.

Five old women are gathered in one place where, in a construed situation, they improvise their ideas on God and the world. The idea was to depict the woman of the 1930s; but as it turned out, the film developed into a kaleidoscope of our day and age.

In this respect, this was almost an ideal film for Hof — a festival which functions in a similar way.

Underground cross-links within the motley of vistas make this festival a giant cornucopia for cinema freaks.

It was this achievement to which the king of independent film-makers, Roger Corman, to whom a retrospective was devoted, paid tribute by attending.

Throughout his life, Corman has been a director capable of making much out of nothing; and Heinz Badewitz is his best pupil.

Peter Buchka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 November 1981)



"Freak Orlando" (Photo: Basis-Film)

What it's like living behind bars

There have been several films [on ju]venile delinquency in the pa[st few] years.

Uwe Friessner's *Das Ende des R[egen]bogens* (The End of the Rainbow) [and] Kückelmann's *Die letzten Jahre [der] Kindheit* (The Last Years of Child[hood]) are two of them.

Both are intended to show the vi[cious] circle which young offenders find [them]selves in: some just cannot escape [their] environment.

For many it is a case of being p[ut be]hind bars, then escape, another [...] arrest and back to the cells.

Kückelmann includes family an[d so]cial background in his production.

Helmut Christian Görlitz takes [...]er line in his first film, *Das Ende [vom] Anfang* (The End of the Beginning[...]) both director and scriptwriter, he [...] at what happens inside the institu[tions] that house young offenders.

Das Ende vom Anfang is based [on] Michael Holzner's autobiographic[al ...] *Treibjagd* (The Hunt), which won [the] Lessing Prize. Now he goes to univ[...] in Hamburg and has written two succ[essful] novels.

The main character is the 17-yea[r-old] Benjamin Holberg (Michael Fass), a [self-]assured, intelligent youngster who is [in]clined towards protest rather than [con]formism.

This could well be his only cha[nce of] one day escaping the vicious circl[e and] leading a normal life.

The film starts with the end of a[n es]cape (Benjamin crouches on the ed[ge of] a country road, trying to get across. [...] then he is suddenly cornered by [police] cars and has to give up.)

He is taken to a correctional ins[titu]tion. As a newcomer, he first has to [fa]miliarise himself with the tough [...] of the place.

"There's no boxing here, just beatin[g]," a fellow inmate tells him. What [he] means is that Benjamin cannot count [on] any fair deal from the inmates.

Benjamin has a quick grasp and immediately understands how this is [at] odds with the official rules of the i[nsti]tution which demand conformism [and] inconspicuousness.

But exactly this is impossible for [him]. He has an indomitable drive to be [free] and seizes the first opportunity to b[reak] out.

He is recaptured, but again manages to get away. This repeats it[self] time and again and he becomes inc[rea]singly unbridled in committing [...] thefts or fraud. In the end, he is sen[t to] a reformatory that uses almost f[...] methods.

The head of the institution is a [...]sive sadist in riding boots who [...] the youngsters to work whip in [hand], has them beaten up by his men [when] they have tried to escape and gloats [over] their agonised screams. But Benj[amin] risks another escape.

The film makes a strong impre[ssion] on the viewer — not only because [of the] subject, which must make any[one] think, but also because of the abs[olute] realism of the shocking scenes [that] show how the young people see [their] own situation by an extreme state [of des]peration.

Carla Rh[...]

(Der Tagesspiegel, 29 October 19[81])

[LIT]ERATURE

Sense of human justice and irony, too

[Büchn]er Prize-winner Martin Walser [was ve]ry much his old self at the [...]ssion of the German Academy [for Langu]age and Literature in Darm[stadt].

[The ess]ay in which he read passages [from his] latest novel *Das Schwanenhaus* [(working t]itle: The Swan's Nest) was ty[pical of the] and 60s Walser.

[This wa]s the Walser we know from his [early n]ovels *Ehen in Philippsburg* [(Marriage]s in Philippsburg), *Das Einhorn* [(The Uni]corn), *Halbzeit* (Half-Time) and [*Der Stur*]*z* (The Fall).

[He wa]s a virtuoso interpreter of him[self, ...] ironical and with a deep sense [of hum]an justice, a quality that has [become ra]re among men of letters in the [seco]nd half of the 20th century.

[He ha]s, of course, undergone some [change]. He used to be almost too elo[quent. A]fter an inner and outer crisis of [...] and documentary proximity to [...] he now deliberately no longer [makes fu]ll use of the linguistic means at [his com]mand.

[His s]entences have grown shorter. [The fire]works of adjectives and figures of [speech, ...] parables and wayward humour [have mo]st subsided.

[But] Walser's *leitmotiv* is back. The [reader se]es and experiences the envi[ronment] through the eyes of a commer[cial tr]aveller, Zürn the broker, who [is i]n the property trade.

[He is] a bad businessman and a great [...], also a touchingly good father [to his f]amily and a man who conceals [his feel]ings for his wife and daughters [behind] shyness and clumsiness.

[He al]ways seems to bungle matters, to [be us]ed by the capitalist system. He [is] on the road yet usually returns without having done much busi[ness].

[This] may be viewed superficially, of [course], especially as Walser's irony and [deli]ght in puns tend to emphasise [the ente]rtainment value rather than the meaning.

[But] once one has grasped the tragedy [of] the daydreamer one is no lon[ger tem]pted, as many Walser fans are, to [laugh a]t the wrong moments.

[The] subject with which he deals is at [least as] serious as that of Arthur Miller's [*De*]*ath of a Travelling Salesman*.

[Zürn] has every prospect of handling [the sale] of the Schwanenhaus, a magnificent villa, earning a handsome commission and fulfilling the dearest wishes of his somewhat schematic yet altogether imaginable family.

Deutsches Allgemeines SONNTAGSBLATT

En route, in Stuttgart, where he makes no headway in his business dealings as usual, he succumbs to an insane desire to buy things himself.

He spends a small fortune on a carpet and other expensive consumer goods that no-one could possibly pay for in cash, so the transaction is naturally charged to credit accounts or payment by instalments is arranged.

There can be no mistaking Anselm Kristlein, an earlier Walser character, here. He is a kind and charming man and seemingly born under a lucky star yet for some reason or other continually running into debt.

He continually rushes headlong into matters that unexpectedly hurt him because he fails to realise how hard life is.

As a critic of the *Wirtschaftswunder*, or post-war 'economic miracle,' Martin Walser has too readily been rated a satirist.

His struggle with the justice and morality within him, which often seem to assume grotesque proportions, tends to be forgotten.

Walser's dramas of petty bourgeois life could be called social criticism, but in reality there is another factor: the labyrinth in his own breast.

It is a maze of Kafkaesque blind alleys, processes and judgements, a sphere that by no means corresponds to the more two-dimensional viewpoint of the satirist.

In the wake of Marxist jaunts and adventures Walser has long realised that even under socialism his characters, as commercial travellers or government officials, cannot find the happiness and satisfaction that are their simple human craving.

Other obstacles arise, block their path, bring about the decline and fall of the Kristleins and Zürns of Walser's world.

His language has grown simpler but is neither dry nor plain, as some reviewers would have us believe.

With unusual subtlety what Zürn the estate agent and family man thinks and says extends to ever bolder woulds and might-bes and the height of the world of dream and madness to which he falls prey.

Anna, his wife, and his pale daughters live more in his world of desire and fantasy than in the writer's fictional reality.

As almost always is his practice, Walser prefers not to give us an optical description of them or their surroundings, of the landscape or the cities.

Like planets that reflect their sun's light the members of Zürn's family encircle the head of the family. They include a young man given to meditation who has set his heart on one of the daughters.

Zürn gives them all his love yet is often strangely inept at giving it verbal expression.

Walser has an uncommon artistic aptitude for outlining the figures surrounding his hero without using the conventional means of literary description and approximation.

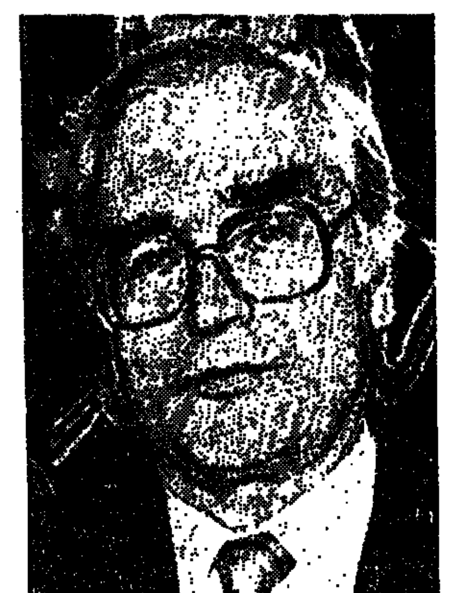
The result, however, is that they retain a certain spirit-like quality, almost like vampires even.

Writer Peter Hamm made an excellent speech congratulating Walser on winning the prize. In it he dealt at great length with Walser's family background.

He was a barkeeper's son in Wasserburg on Lake Constance, and Hamm was right to harp on this point, since the milieu theory is absolutely right in Walser's case.

As a boy he was trained to keep an eye on the guests and study their behaviour, to check business at other bars in the town.

As a writer he was bound to tend towards Walser's indirect, voluble yet never altogether realistic and distinct way of describing the world.



Martin Walser . . . returned with changes. (Photo: dpa)

Friedrich Sieburg said Walser as a young man was a genius and almost insanely intelligent, but the young Walser's social objectives never struck him.

Hamm, who comes from a generation younger than Walser's, does appreciate them. At a time when Brecht had his textbook proletariat march in line, he said, the workers had in reality long opted for a petty bourgeois existence.

Now the big bourgeois are slowly but surely forfeiting all their privileges we have all become petty bourgeois.

We all suffer, like Kristlein and Zürn, from the slings and arrows of buying and consuming, from a system that imposes rules of its own on us.

Martin Walser, the gentle revolutionary, has upheld his misgivings about the Western economic system even though he is no longer given to signing cheapskate resolutions.

The Darmstadt academy, which is, if anything, a little on the conservative and elitist side in its outlook, can pride itself on having given Walser the 1981 Büchner Prize.

But it should have done so at least 20 years ago.

Geno Hartlaub

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 1 November 1981)

The qualities of the man

[An e]xhibition on the life and works of [the Au]strian writer Robert Musil at the [Deutsch]e Bibliothek in Frankfurt am [Main fea]tures some 300 exhibits.

[Docu]ments, first editions and photo[graphs a]re included, illustrating the work [of the] novelist, who died in Geneva in [...]

[Musil] is best known as the writer of [*Der*] *Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The [Man W]ithout Qualities), a long novel.

[The] exhibition was put together last [year, Mus]il's birth centenary year, by the [Musil Re]search centre at Saarbrücken [Univers]ity.

[...] items from the stock of the [Deutsch]e Bibliothek were included for [the Fran]kfurt show.

dpa

([Sü]ddeutsche Zeitung, 26 October 1981)

International look at Dostoyevsky

Scholars from 12 countries at a conference in Munich dealt with the mark Dostoyevsky's enormous oeuvre has made on literature in both hemispheres.

Many papers dealt with an aspect of the writer that is easily overlooked by tense and shattered readers: Dostoyevsky the much-read man of letters.

The conference was organised by the Committee on Slavonic Studies and the Siemens Foundation.

Dostoyevsky not only read the Bible in Siberia. In the course of a chequered literary career he also came across an abundance of form and content in Russian and West European literature.

In this context Rammelmeyer, from Frankfurt, undertook a telling analysis of the source material for the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor.

Terras of Providence, N.J., delivered a most informative lecture on Dostoyevsky's view of Pushkin.

Gerhardt, from Hamburg, dealt in depth with the way in which Dostoyevsky grew conversant with poetic forms by writing his own little-known poems.

Wedel, from Regensburg, examined his effect on English literature, where Tolstoy and Turgenev were more influential, while Hellerup, of Denmark went into his influence in Scandinavia, especially on Hamsun.

Rene Wellek, the grand old man of comparative literary studies, flew to Munich from the United States specially for the conference.

He dealt with the part played by the Russian poet and scholar Vyacheslav Ivanov in interpreting Dostoyevsky.

Wellek also dealt in detail with the very critical view of Dostoyevsky taken by President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. Much of the material was not yet accessible for German-speaking readers.

The third volume of Masaryk's *Russia and Europe*, originally written in German, has yet to find a German publisher.

In both cases, Ivanov and Masaryk, it was the first wave of interest in Dostoyevsky that swept Europe before and after the First World War.

Dostoyevsky studies today are understandably taking a fresh look at early work on the writer, especially Russian and Western European interpreters of Dostoyevsky's work such as Strakhov and Brandes.

It was clear in Munich that substantial revisions must be made to the view of Dostoyevsky held by, say, Thomas Mann all his life.

The paper on Dostoyevsky and Kafka given by Iehl from Toulouse showed the contrast between what he called Dostoyevsky's dialoguism and Kafka's monologuism.

This was an extremely interesting further development of Bakhtin's views on what he called Dostoyevsky's polyphony.

It was nonetheless an attempt to conceptualise the incomparable modernity of the novels of Dostyevsky.

Gerigk, from Heidelberg, took another approach to Dostoyevsky's poetics. Comparing him with Faulkner he demonstrated what Faulkner owed to Crime and Punishment.

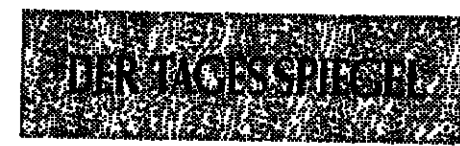
Even more importantly, he outlined the tension that takes us through the Young Man or the Brothers Karamazov and does so at such a breathtaking pace that we nearly forget Dostoyevsky was one of the greatest religious or philosophical writers in world literature.

Gerd Wolandt

(Die Welt, 22 October 1981)

■ HEALTH

Who takes heroin, and why they do it



This country's 60,000 heroin addicts and the 5,000 that swell their ranks every year have made Germany the number one heroin country in Europe.

To find out what makes people become addicted to the drug, Dr Herbert Berger (Marienheide State Hospital), Dr Karl-Heinz Reuband (Central Archives for Empirical Social Research of Cologne University) and Ulrike Widlitzek (Institute for Pediatric Research, Cologne) thoroughly questioned 100 juveniles.

According to the researchers, this is not only the most in depth survey of its type in this country; it is also North Rhine-Westphalia's fundamental empirical study on heroin addiction.

The findings have now been published in the book *Wege in die Heroinabhängigkeit* (Roads to Heroin Addiction), Juventa Verlag, Munich.

Eighty per cent of the respondents were aged between 18 and 22 at the time of the survey. Their social backgrounds corresponded almost exactly to a cross-section of the population. Heroin users come from all social strata.

Half are from working families, more than among users of soft drugs.

And about half come from homes where the parents are either divorced or separated or where one parent is dead.

And even where the family is complete the atmosphere at home is anything but harmonious.

Most of the addicts wanted nothing to do with their parents' problems. They also kept their own troubles to themselves.

The emotional line of communication with the parents was underdeveloped because the youngsters felt that the parents did not understand them.

If there was such a thing as an intimate relationship at all it was usually with the mother. The father had no hand in the upbringing and there were no highlights in family life. The family only just got along with each other.

Most addicts were mediocre students. The majority completed only compulsory education while 25 per cent attended *Realschule* (secondary school leading to vocational training) or *Gymnasium* (leading to university).

Many were dropouts, especially those with higher education.

Most hated school and became apprenticed;

But only 40 per cent of those who started an apprenticeship completed it.

The dropping out of an apprenticeship frequently coincided with the beginning of drug taking.

Mainliners were no outsiders before they got hooked on heroin. Most of the respondents — about 60 per cent — said that they had no difficulties in person-to-person relations before becoming addicted.

The same number said that their childhood friends had treated them as equals; and 28 per cent said that they had been influential or had held leadership positions among their peers.

Most of the respondents started using soft drugs while at school or during apprenticeship.

By the age of 14, 37 per cent had had drug experience.

About three quarters started with hashish. But it would be wrong to consider hashish a threshold drug for heroin since only five per cent of hashish users progress to heroin.

The first shot at hashish requires the coincidence of an inner readiness to try the drug and the opportunity to do so.

In many ways, drug consumption is the result of everyday situations. Every juvenile is bound at some point to meet others who take drugs.

If they are friends or acquaintances, he will become interested in narcotics and eventually seize the opportunity to try them.

In view of the importance the circle of friends plays in the use of drugs, it is not the lonely and isolated but the gregarious who are most threatened.

Problem situations play virtually no role as a trigger. None of the respondents said that he had been talked or pressured into using drugs.

It is during the period on soft drugs that most people meet a fixer for the first time.

Though the relationship is cool initially because the hashish user is afraid of becoming hooked, this attitude soon changes because many heroin users convey an image that has nothing in common with the usual idea of an addict. This is a frequent occurrence because heroin addicts make a point of appearing self confident and unaffected by their affliction.

At some point, the fixer-to-be is bound to see a friend experience the "joys of a trip".

Seventy nine per cent of the respondents said that it was curiosity that set them on the road.

The interval between the first experience with a soft drug and the first shot of heroin and from there to total addiction is frequently no longer than a month or two.

Heroin then soon becomes the hub of life, and the rhythm of obtaining and using the drug becomes paramount.

The money is usually earned by pushing and minor crimes.

Many heroin addicts develop an ideology of their own which boils down to: heroin makes life short but exciting.

Heroin inevitably becomes more important than sex although many fixers keep a girlfriend as a status symbol.

Surprisingly, mainliners believe that their addiction improves their social status among their peers.

But all respondents were convinced that the set of addicts to which they belonged had become brutal and deceitful since they joined the ranks and that the group had lost much of its attractiveness.

It is therefore not surprising that three quarters unsuccessfully tried to kick the habit under their own steam.

Rolf Degen

(Der Tagesspiegel, 31 October 1981)

Gum test

This machine developed by Siem[ens can] detect a common gum disease kn[own as] paradontosis and how advanced it [is. The] patient bites on a piece of blotting [paper] which is then fed into the m[achine.] Within 20 seconds the screen rev[eals the] dreadful (or not) news. (Photo: S[...])

Personality and cancer

Lack of self-confidence and so[...]ciety is frequent among peop[le who] go on to contract cancer, says a [...] specialist. Many were also on bad [terms] with their parents.

Professor Maria Blohmke to[ld a] congress in Bad Neuenahr abou[t a] theory of possible links between th[e dis]ease and psychology of the victim.

She said there was possibly no [link] between lung cancer and cigarett[e smok]ing.

Her studies had shown that sm[okers] did not develop cancer earlier [than] nonsmokers.

The answer was in diagnosis. [Non-]smokers are considered to be less at [risk,] she said, so they aren't checked so [often] as smokers.

Cancer was only diagnosed in on[e] per cent of non-smokers where the [vic]tim lived as against 90 per cent [of] smokers.

About 85 per cent of women [with] breast cancer die because fear pre[vents] them from getting an early diag[nosis,] said Munich surgeon Rolf R. Olbris[ch.]

The congress was organised by [the] German Medical Association and [the] German Cancer Fund.

Delegates heard how prospects [for] Germany's 2 million cancer pat[ients] have greatly improved.

Better research, social psychiatry, [and] medical treatment was beginning to [bear] fruit.

Even so, Germany is still lagging [be]hind when it comes to rehabilitation.

Experts agreed that cancer pa[tients] should not be turned into prem[ature] pensioners after surgery.

Cancer aftercare, specialists [said,] should concentrate on the early [diagno]sis of a possible relapse and on p[...] social support for the patient.

Since cancer cannot be cured o[r ...] be cured without consequences [in] most cases the therapy requires s[...] — the patient must above all be h[elped] to overcome fear of being maimed.

This fear is one of the main re[asons] why many people avoid the steps [lead]ing to early diagnosis and follo[w-up] therapy.

And it is for this reason, said Olb[risch, that] some 85 per cent of women with b[reast] cancer die from the disease.

(Die Welt, 2 November [1981])

Take a pill, lie down, shut the eyes . . . and stay awake all night

One out of 10 Germans cannot sleep properly. Some experts put the figure as high as one in three.

And that includes those who are permanently on sleeping pills.

Research into why people cannot sleep is still not advanced in Germany.

But in Munich, the university's psychiatric hospital is setting the pace with its "sleep laboratory".

The lab has an outpatients clinic, which is staffed by four psychiatrists.

Patients, who suffer from nervous or physical sleep disorders, usually undergo checkups and treatment lasting six months.

The first two consecutive nights are spent in the laboratory where sleep polygrammes are used to measure brain waves and the activity of a particular chin muscle plus eye movements.

According to Dr Eckart Rüther, the various activities of the patient are measured without disturbing his sleep. This is done with a telemetric transmitter small enough to fit into two matchboxes.

Free movement in bed is thus ensured and the signals are transmitted by radio.

The laboratory also deals with special cases, among them patients who suffer from idiopathic hyposomnia, a sleep disorder of which the cause is still unknown.

Diagnostic methods have been greatly improved, says Dr Rüther. People whose sleep is disturbed due to organic reasons can now be distinguished from those whose problem is psychological. As a result, appropriate therapy can be given.

Every other patient treated with tryptophan shows an improved sleep rhythm. And one in five patients improves sufficiently to be taken off any kind of drug sufficiently to be taken off any kind of drug within a year, sleeping normally and without assistance.

Tryptophan is a derivative of the sleep hormone serotonin. It appears that people with sleep disorders suffer from a deficiency of this hormone which cannot reach the brain if administered the normal way. It is for this reason that psychiatrists resort to tryptophan instead.

The Munich laboratory is funded by the German Research Association and a drug company.

The research work of the lab benefits primarily psychiatry.

Certain psychiatric disorders, especially depression, are closely linked with the sleep-wakefulness rhythm. It is for this reason that research now concentrates on the effects of withholding sleep for 24 hours.

The Munich psychiatrists proved in an earlier study that one in two depressive patients showed improvement after having been kept from sleeping.

Hans-Jochen Kaffsack

(Rheinische Post, 30 October 1981)

MODERN LIVING

Hitting the bottle, hitting the pocket and hitting society

[Alco]holism and addiction, unem[plo]yment and vagrancy, school drop[outs] and battered wives are much more [...] long-term problems than argu[ments] about interest rates, fuel prices [and wa]ge increases.

[It i]s very much to the credit of [...]en University Hospital that we [k]now there is a connection be[tween] a mother who drinks and a child [born] deformed.

[In] the Federal Republic of Germany [more] than 2,000 babies a year are born [with] congenital deformities, some ex[treme]ly serious, because their mothers [drank] too much during pregnancy.

[In] 1979 spending on alcohol and to[bacco] totalled DM 58.3bn (DM 39bn on [alcohol] and DM 19.3bn on cigarettes and [tobac]co) or nearly DM 1,000 per head [of th]e population (including children).

[Fif]ty per cent of the country's regis[tered] unemployed are former addicts [and d]ifficult to place. Alcohol consump[tion a]t work is not only a safety hazard; [it als]o has a detrimental effect on out[put.]

[The] overall loss to the economy can[not b]e quantified, but alcohol can con[fident]ly be said to be involved in 20 to [... per] cent of accidents at work.

[Drunk]en driving was to blame for [...] per cent of driving bans imposed in [19]79, year in which nearly 3,000 peo[ple die]d in road accidents because either a motorist or a pedestrian was under the influence of drink.

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

The number of people maimed on the roads because of drunken drivers or pedestrians, as it were, was 67,000 last year but one.

Between 45,000 and 60,000 people in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, mostly juveniles and young people, are heroin addicts.

An estimated 1,800,000, or three per cent of the population, are either potential confirmed alcoholics.

An adult who retires at 40 unable to work because of alcoholism has been estimated to cost the country, and his fellow-taxpayers, DM 400,000.

A juvenile alcoholic or junkie costs much more.

The divorce rate among addicts is three-and-a-half times the average. Their unemployment rate is three times the average.

An estimated 80,000 people in Germany are classified as vagrants. Their number increased by about 15,000 between 1970 and 1980.

The rate at which the number of first-time vagrants increased has corresponded with uncanny accuracy to the rate at which unemployment *has increased*.

Many vagrants, especially first-timers, could be rehabilitated if they were found jobs paying a normal wage and accommodation at a price they were able to pay.

The creation of a new job is reckoned, by a current rule of thumb, to cost a quarter of a million marks, which is way beyond the financial capacity of both local authority and Church welfare departments.

Not for decades has the number of jobless youngsters been as high as it is now, and their number is likely to increase, with the result that many feel increasingly helpless.

One unemployed person in three is considered a difficult case and is thus unlikely to find a job for the foreseeable future.

The Bonn Labour Ministry is, moreover, working on the assumption that unemployment will be here to stay at a bedrock rate of 800,000.

Year by year 15 to 20 per cent of school-leavers leave school without qualifications of any kind, and that means about 120,000 young people.

Thus the number of youngsters who are virtually unemployable is steadily increasing, and some of them are sure to end up as outcasts in the underground.

Riots of the kind that have ravaged Zurich, Berlin, London and Liverpool seem a foregone conclusion all over the place before long.

Unless money is invested now, the social peace forfeited will be much more expensive to restore later.

Growing unemployment hits foreign nationals particularly hard. They currently account for 165,000 registered unemployed, or eight per cent.

Families prevented from being reunited

So the regulation that prevents wives and children of migrant workers who join them in Germany from taking up employment for up to four years effectively prevents families from being reunited in many cases.

Then there are measures intended to stem the tide of applications for political asylum such as:

- cancellation of work permits,
- cancellation of opportunities to attend German-language courses,
- the establishment of camp accommodation for applicants to keep them apart from the host country,
- and the cancellation of family allowances.

There are 46 refuges for battered wives in the Federal Republic, 11 run by Protestant Church welfare organisations.

Since the first refuge was set up in Berlin in 1976 the problem of violence in the family, especially to wives and children, has been spotlighted.

Spot checks of figures available for three districts of Hamburg show, for instance, that 169 cases of wife-battering were reported over a six-month period.

Figures for child-beating are more exact. Ever year between 16,000 and 20,000 cases are reported. Between 700 and 900 children a year are battered to death by their parents.

The number of divorces and separations is likewise on the increase, and the child or children, as the weakest link in the family chain, are always the losers.

DRUGS AND CRIME

Narcotics offences in 1980: 62,395

Suspects had criminal records for the following offences:

Theft of drugs from:	in %
manufacturers and wholesalers	100
doctors' practices	90
pharmacists	90
Larceny to get hold of drugs	89
Theft of prescription forms to get hold of drugs	87

CONDOR

In 1971 there were 655,000 single-parent families with an aggregate of one million children. In other words, 7.7 per cent of parents and 6.4 per cent of children in the Federal Republic lived in single-parent families.

Ten years later the number of single parents has reached one in 10, while 8.8 per cent of children live in single-parent families.

These alarming figures could be enlarged on for columns. Take hospitals, say. There is roughly 10-per-cent understaffing in the nursing profession, or a shortfall of 2,000 nurses in Protestant Church hospitals alone.

In the post-war years the parable of the Good Samaritan was particularly appropriate and laid the groundwork for a revival of the welfare organisations run by the Protestant Church.

What significance does the tale of the Good Samaritan have for international oecumenical welfare work today?

Church welfare work is by no means restricted to the faithful. It must extend to people of other faiths or none. It must cross borders and borderlines.

It must not only be a helping hand in an emergency but aim at continual solidarity with the weaker sections of society.

President Carstens, the head of state, has neatly explained why welfare work by non-governmental organisations is so important.

"The state is unfortunately bound by bureaucratic procedures in its social work," he said.

"The private welfare organisations, on the other hand, are in a position to work fast, without red tape and extraordinarily effectively wherever the need is greatest.

"Readiness to serve others and deliberately to subordinate personal interests to those of the sick and needy has often been relegated to a back seat by egoism.

'Feeling that change is on the way'

"I feel a change is under way, especially among young people. I should very much like to see people thinking, whenever they see a nurse, a nun or a social worker: 'What am I doing to help others?'

"Experience has taught me to set the greatest store by those who set out to help others whose lot is worse than their own.

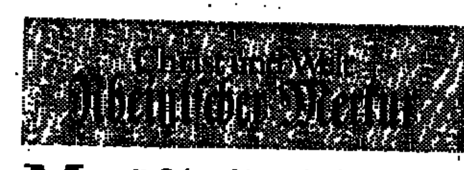
"It is they who allow us to feel the humanity of humanity."

Theodor Schober

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 1 November 1981)

■ PEOPLE

Aviator Margrit: back to the pioneering spirit



Margrit Orlowski speaks fluent Latin and Ancient Greek. She has studied theology. She also flies aircraft.

She belongs in the same league as women such as Elly Beinhorn, popular wife of German racing driver Bernd Rosemeyer, who was killed in an accident.

Frau Beinhorn became famous because of her pioneering flights round the globe.

Fifty years ago, she flew across the Andes in her little Klemm aircraft and traversed the rain forests of Africa and Latin America.

Her equally famous friend and rival, Hanna Reitsch, made a name for herself as an outstanding glider pilot, a research and test pilot and, finally, as a rocket pilot.

The two women — like Thea Rasche, Jacqueline Cochran (America), Jacqueline Auriol (France) and the first woman cosmonaut, Valentina Tereshkova (USSR) — dominated the headlines for decades.

Elly Beinhorn and Hanna Reitsch, who died a couple of years ago, became the showpieces of the Association of German Women pilots, a lovable bunch of flyers who, much to their chagrin, find themselves more interesting than does the public.

There are crack glider pilots among the club members but they are usually the wallflowers when the flying women meet for coffee and a chat.

The membership also includes successful rally pilots, tough businesswomen and just plain housewives.

They all have one worry in common: None of them has the popularity of Beinhorn and Reitsch. It is for this reason that they overlooked Reitsch's stupid political statements, for she was "their Hanna" no matter what.

The club can relax now. It once more has a member in the headlines who, although she is only 24, ranks among the outstanding pilots of our era: Margrit Orlowski, a woman with a laugh that can be heard three blocks away, and long blonde hair.

There is nothing Teutonic about Orlowski, and the last thing she wants is to be the club's new showpiece; but, like it or not, this is exactly what she is.

She got her private pilot's licence (PPL) before her driver's licence.

Reminisces Frau Orlowski: "It was funny in a way. There were all those Porsches, Citroens and Mercedes parked outside the Bonn-Hangelar airport as I arrived on my bicycle. I had no driver's licence and when I finally did get it I kept pulling at the steering wheel every time I hit a bump in the road."

The young woman, who studied German, theology and Old Greek, is now a successful business executive.

She is vice-president and pilot of Transaero International Inc. — Intercontinental Aircraft Deliveries in Scranton, Pa. (USA).

The company ferries one and two-engine aircraft from America to Europe or Australia.

Frau Orlowski got her flying instructor's licence three years ago and only one year later she got her licence for two-engine aircraft. Now she makes delivery flights as part of her regular routine.

Ferry pilots are in business because buyers and dealers find it cheaper to deliver aircraft on their own wings rather than ship them.

Charles Lindbergh's feat of 54 years ago is now all in a day's work for Frau Orlowski, her partner, Dave Waltz, and six permanently employed pilots.

She can now look back on 50 single-handed transatlantic and two trans-Pacific flights.

On one of these flights, she had to take a single engine Cessna 172 (average speed 220 k.p.h. and range 1,200 km without additional fuel tanks) from San Francisco to Hawaii. It took her 22 hours. On another occasion, she had to fly as far as Sydney.

But her true bailiwick is the north Atlantic. Her usual route is from Gander in Newfoundland to Shannon, Ireland, or from the icebound Goose Bay, Labrador, to Scotland.

"With a bit of luck and a tailwind I can even make it to the Continent proper," says Frau Orlowski.

In 1980 she flew an American Beechcraft to Bremen via Gander and Shannon, taking 18 hours for the flight.

Bremen is the headquarters of Hanseatische Luftwerft, one of the regular customers of the Scranton company.

Hans-Herbert Eckert of Hanseatische Luftwerft: "We have delat with many ferry pilots, but rarely have we met anybody who can touch Margrit Orlowski. Her physical, psychological and technical performance is outstanding."

Eckert was once a ferry pilot himself, delivering single and two engine planes to all parts of the world together with the American pilot Louise Sacchi.

Mrs Sacchi has meanwhile ended her flying career after 38 years, 333 Atlantic and Pacific crossings and some 20,000 flying hours.

Frau Orlowski's greatest feat was performed only a few weeks ago when she flew a single engine Cessna 210 Centurion (cruising speed 330 k.p.h.; price tag between US$91,000 and US$140,000) non-stop from Goose Bay to Düsseldorf in 13 hours and 42 minutes.

The delivery of the aircraft with its normal range of 2,000km was made for the Dortmund firm Reise- und Industrieflug.

The flight was intended as a world record, to be completed within 12 hours. But headwinds over the North Atlantic made the flight last two hours longer.

It was not much of a consolation that no other woman had managed the flight in such a short time and that she has thus established a world record nevertheless.

Frau Orlowski considers herself the equal of any man and therefore does not accept the accolade "best performance for a woman."

Among the flights she does not like to remember is her very first delivery: "It was a daring adventure ... much too daring, and I would never do it again," says she.

An Austrian friend whom she had met at flying school had bought a Rockwell Commander and was looking for a delivery pilot.

Frau Orlowski, at that time 22, told her friend that she would deliver the craft for expenses only, which would be cheaper than any professional delivery service.

The theology student had no idea what she was letting herself in for.

"It was a free vacation, so I decided to do it. It took me two weeks to fly from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, to Salzburg in Austria. I enjoyed every stopover and I needed the rest anyway."

Her route took her via Sept Iles in the St. Lawrence River to the remote Fort Chimo in Northern Labrador, Frobisher Bay in Baffin Land, Söndre Strömfjord and Angmagssalik in West and East Greenland, Keflavik in Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Scotland to the Continent.

"All I had at the time was a normal PPL and VHF licence. The whole thing wasn't quite legal, but nobody in Europe noticed it. Today I would try to dissuade anybody from embarking on such a flight. But I never again had such weather: not a single cloud during the entire flight from America to Europe. You don't have that kind of luck twice."

The adventuress of 1979 no longer exists. Today, it is standard procedure on delivery flights to wear protective clothing complete with radar reflector that ensures a three-day survival even in icy waters.

Other equipment includes emergency transmitters and rations containing nuts, coke, biscuits, fruit and chocolate but never pep pills.

"We are no adventurers but a responsible company that cannot afford to risk its reputation. Our job is tough enough as it is."

Frau Orlowski has twice found herself in situations where survival depended not only skill but also on luck.

On one of her delivery flights she tought that she was between Greenland and Iceland when her magnetic compass went on the blink.

A search-and-rescue action was mounted and, after 14 hours of flying without being able to pinpoint her position, she was found by an Awacs early warning aircraft and guided into Keflavik.

It was not until later that she learned that she had been near Scotland when she prepared to ditch into the sea — an angry North Atlantic.

The Awacs crew was delighted to have done a bit of "real work for a change", as they called it.

On another occasion, when she was headed from Frobisher Bay via Cape Dyer on Baffin Land to Greenland, she had to make an emergency landing at a US Air Force base that was closed to civilian traffic.

She says: "I was so happy to be down. I had had to fly very high for fear of hitting one of the mountains and developed oxygen problems in the process."

She had to make two approaches due to heavy crosswinds and zero visibility before finally managing to land.

The trouble started after her landing. The American officer on duty had to mount a guard outside her room because his men had seen no woman in months.

Frau Orlowski, who is not only fluent in Latin and Ancient Greek but also in English and French and can make herself understood in Russian, Spanish and Italian, does not know whether she wants to stay a ferry pilot forever.

"One day when I stop flying across the Atlantic I'd like to study aircraft engineering at Aachen Technical University," she says.

Asked about how she would do this in view of her extremely poor marks in mathematics, she said that her poor performance was due to the maths teacher with whom she did not get along and who objected to her flying, which she called a capitalist pastime.



Margrit Orlowski prefers to be on the wing.

(Photo aerokurier/Dinyla)

The sort of man she married

What sort of a man would a woman like Frau Orlowski marry?

"My husband teaches English, French and geography in a high school. But he is also a flyer and has two dozen shielded transatlantic flights to his credit. In fact, he has more flying hours than I do — but then, he's also older."

Frau Orlowski originally took her flying instructor's licence in order to put in more flying hours. Her father had promised to pay for two flying hours a month, but she told him: "Pay for my flying instructor's licence instead and you'll never have to pay for flying time again."

The hobby eventually turned into a job and the former theology student became a professional flyer.

In the beginning, she was not taken too seriously. But things changed as she delivered one aircraft after another and reached the top of her profession.

Karl Morgenstern

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 30 October 1981)

SPORT

Scrums, rucks, mauls and other larks in the mud

...Ellis, so the popular belief ...of kicking a soccer ball about. ...at Rugby school in England ...simply picked up the ball and ...are still running with it today ...become oval rather than round) ...in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and in Pacific Island groups ...Tonga, Fiji and Samoa. In the ...years Rumania, Argentina and ...emerged as top calibre rugby ...The game is played, albeit very ...a minor sport in the USA, ...the universities; and in the Federal ...of Germany; and in many East ...tries. A breakaway movement ...national rugby caused by factory ...demands for pay in compensa...time off led to the foundation of ...league late last century. League ...changed to give the game a ...flavour. It is less widely played, ...strong in the north of England, the ...state of New South Wales, ...New Guinea and parts of France.



The big men go up ... Russia (dark jerseys) and Germany contest a lineout, before less-than-packed terraces. Germany won 10-7 in Hanover. (Photo: Hannoversche Allgemeine)

Which major league German soccer club that was set up in 1896 and has twice been national champion was founded as a rugby club?

The answer, German soccer buffs are sure to rightly guess, is Hanover. Hanover 96 only started playing soccer at the turn of the century.

Did they make the right decision? Rugby fans in Hanover, the major stronghold of the 15-a-side code in Germany (Heidelberg is the other), would hardly agree.

Until 1900 the two codes, association and rugby football, were governed by the same organisation. Then they split.

Soccer's *Deutscher Fussball-Bund* now has three-and-a-half million members. The *Deutscher Rugby-Verband* has a mere 5,000.

Yet the diehards of the oval code can pride themselves on a famous victory. In Hanover's Niedersachsenstadion Germany has beaten the Soviet Union 10-7 (7-7).

Germany has only just been promoted to the upper division of the European championship competition run by FIRA, the International Amateur Rugby Federation.

FIRA was launched by France and Germany in the pre-war period when France was banned from International Board rugby because of allegations of professionalism.

England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are not FIRA members. France is, of course, and so, for instance, is Rumania.

By beating the Soviet Union, a relative newcomer to rugby football but an impressive one, Germany currently head the table in their European championship division.

Interviewed before the game, Werner Behring, business manager of the German RFU, was not expecting a full house. He was not disappointed, but the stands on one side were almost empty.

He recalled that Germany had lost 64-9 to Russia in Kharkov three years ago. It was the national team's highest-ever defeat.

"We had a case of whisky with us," he said. "The Russians had their vodka. The team officials held their own."

The players were kept dry, for obvious reasons. But they all fell foul of a stomach bug. Not so the officials, Herr Behring recalls. But their services were not called for on the field of play.

When the Soviet Union played Germany in Hanover in 1977 the visitors won 22-16. This time the Germans were optimistic; Russia had only managed to hold Italy to a 12-all draw in Moscow the previous week.

The other countries in FIRA's European first division are Rumania and France, which has 1,724 clubs and 180,000 registered players.

Germany the giant-killer has a mere 67 clubs and 3,500 players.

Rugby is just not popular in Germany. It is hard to say why. Soccer and gridiron football are near-relatives. Does rugby run counter to the German character?

Is it a school of character that is somehow limited to the Anglo-Saxon way of life? But if it is, why is it so popular in the south of France?

Oddly enough, Germany has closer rugby ties with France than with Britain. Many French public figures readily admit to having enjoyed rugby as youngsters. They include Courrèges, the couturier, Sasha Distel, the playwright, and Chaban-Delmas, the Gaullist politician.

A number of German rugby players have played for leading French teams, but it does not seem to benefit them much, certainly not in comparison with their soccer counterparts who play for clubs abroad.

Peter Gruber from Heidelberg plays for Vichy, but not for Germany. "We tried capping him for Germany before my time," says Fritz Raupers of Hanover, the German coach. "But it didn't work."

Horst Kemmling, a 24-year-old Hanover student, is the German captain. "I have five brothers and sisters," he says, "and I come from Linden, a working class suburb."

He was happy when his mother took him along to the local rugby club as a six-year-old. "I was dying to be able to play without falling on concrete."

Rugby, unlike soccer, can only be played on grass. That is how a six-year-old boy who was used to scraping his knees on concrete learnt the art of tackling opponents on a grass pitch.

Eighteen years later he captained his country and humbled the Soviet Union in his own home town. *Manfred Lehnen*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 31 October 1981)

Handball side settles after player revolt

...ball chief coach Vlado Stenzel ...to stay; his team captain Arno ...veteran of 112 internationals, ...a walk-out by four members of ...national team squad, Ehret, Horst ..., Dieter Waltke and Rainer ..., the officials have decided to ...fiery Croatian coach, who has ...the squad since September 1974. ...any have a world championship ...defend from 23 February to 7 ...at home, so the unsettled team ...still come a cropper.

...Association president Bernhard Thiele and team manager Stenzel ...to change Ehret's mind, but ...he said he had thought it over ...is still staying away.

...squad feel Stenzel has made fools ...m. "Stenzel's authoritarian leader... just intolerable," says Ehret. ...Thiele clearly still expects ...things of his 48-year-old chief ...

...of Vlado Stenzel's calibre is a ...for any group but we have ...well with him," Thiele says. "He is ...creative man, an artistic character ...always having new ideas."

...Frankfurt officials evidently hope ...repeat his 1978 magic when he ...a German team that was not ...fancied to win the world championships in Copenhagen.

...efforts have been made to ...the breach resulting from tactical ...on both sides just before the ...championship tournament.

..."after taking all possibilities into ...consideration we have decided in Herr ...'s favour," officialdom ruled.

...himself had only considered re... if he had been felt to have ...German handball by hanging on ...chief coach's job. But:

..."as long as I and others feel I am ...I am going to stay put. Major ...will show whether I am ...the man for the job." *dpa*

(General-Anzeiger, 2 November 1981)

Ice hockey trainer Xaver Unsinn, the man with the floppy hat, is back in charge of the national team and very much his old, optimistic self.

After the departure of Hans Rampf as chief coach Unsinn has returned to the fray and helped Germany to draw three-all against Holland in Eindhoven and beat the Dutch 16-1 the following day in Unna, Westphalia.

Did the German squad prove so quick on the uptake or was it the Dutch who forgot everything they knew overnight?

Internationally, Holland are second-rate, so the result does not count for all that much, especially as the Dutch squad were unable to train for several days because pop star Julio Iglesias was holding a concert in their rink.

Yet after five days of preparation Gustav Bubnik, the former Czech international forward who is now the Dutch trainer, feels the Germans are better than they were at the last world championships.

They are certainly a new-look team. Meitinger, who scored six goals in the return match against Holland, or Kühnhackl, who is usually on the phlegmatic side, were typical of a squad who are obviously enjoying their ice hockey again.

Kissing allowed once puck is in the net

Unsinn has obliged the players with his ideas on how a national team should be made up. He is strongly in favour of drawing entire divisions from individual clubs, so players who know their respective games well are selected to play alongside each other for Germany.

He has to sort out his squad by Christmas. Then the team must be selected for the world championships in Finland.

Unsinn calls for both talent and character. He takes a dim view of roughnecks. "In the Bundesliga I have toured changing rooms and given it 'em straight. They all know I want ice hockey to keep its nose clean," he says.

"All I ask is what I myself have put into practice." But at present he must feel like a voice in the wilderness as he goes the round of club managers, coaches and playing staff.

"I have been round southern Germany," he says. "Now it's the west's turn."

He is persistently friendly but can hardly be called soft.

He aims to test his squad's mettle in a series of games against Poland, Finland B, Switzerland, the Soviet Union B and Italy.

Against the Italians in particular, newcomers to the upper division in the world championship tournament and almost entirely Italo-Canadians, Unsinn plans to go as far as the rules permit.

Before others teach the Germans a lesson he intends his own squad to return the compliment in advance, as it were, just as they have done against Holland, who were tough customers at the last world championships.

After the 16-goal spree he was congratulated by all and sundry and commented, with an oblique reference to soccer, where players are under orders not to be too demonstratively overjoyed when goals are scored:

"As far as I am concerned there is no reason why the kissing must stop."

It was just an afterthought, not a programmatic statement, but it typified the current feeling. Let 'em net goals and kiss rather than belabour each other to no effect. *Hans-Joachim Leyenberg*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 November 1981)